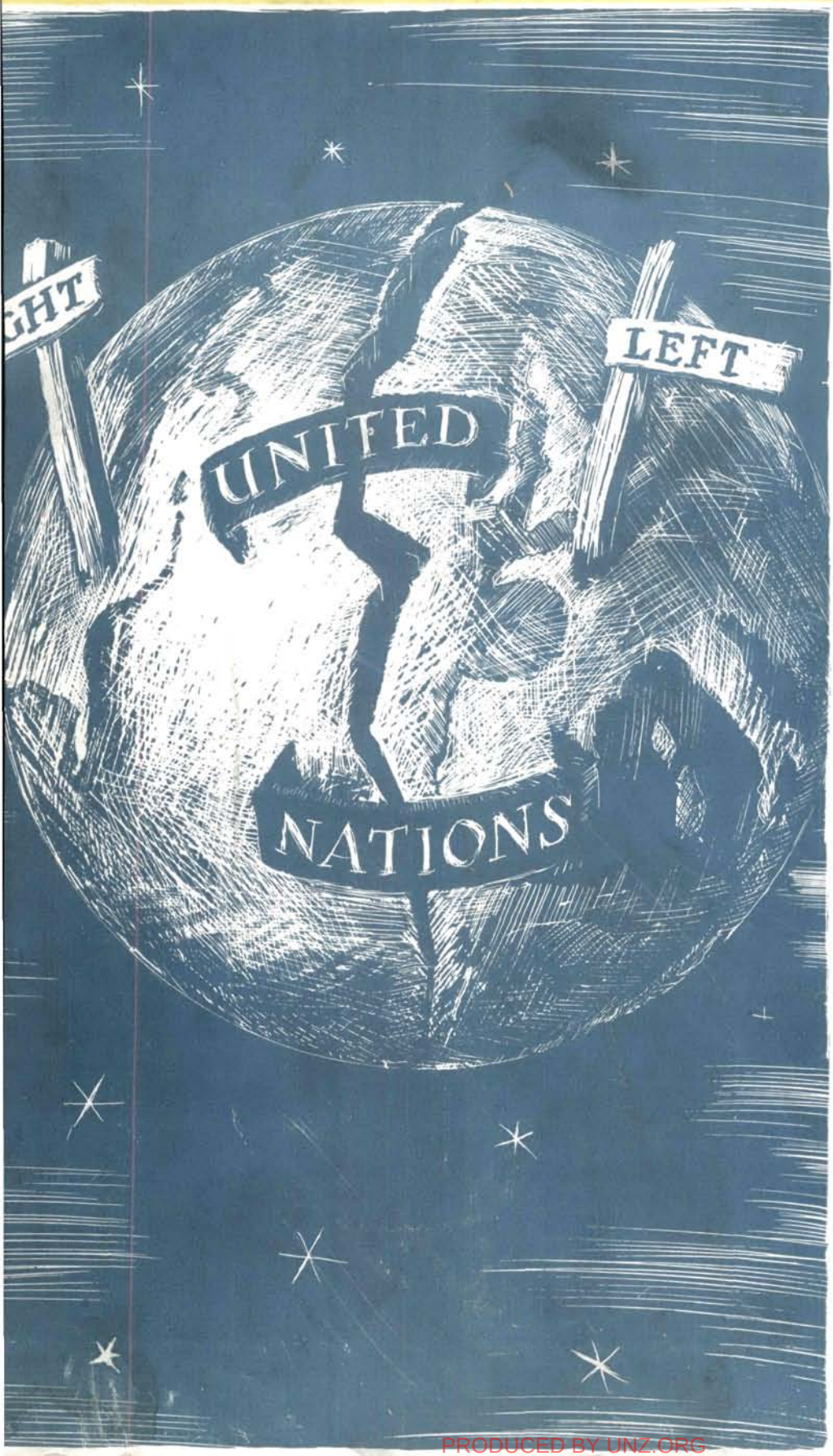
FREE WORLD

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS



DECEMBER, 1946

ELECTIONS and the UN

JAN MASARYK
FOREIGN MINISTER OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JULIAN HUXLEY
UNESCO

MURRAY LINCOLN
COOPERATIVES

TRENDS IN POST-WAR THEATER

BOOK REVIEWS by
DAVID MUZZEY
HENRY ATKINSON
MAX DELSON
and others

IN CANADA 50c 40c

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The State of the World.

December, 1946

THE UNITED NATIONS

TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES OF UN DURING GENERAL ASSEMBLY: LAKE SUCCESS A BAD CHOICE

UN Headquarters, Lake Success, December, 1946. Even before the General Assembly of the UN, many delegations and members of the Secretariat realized that the choice of the Sperry Plant as temporary headquarters of the UN was a bad one.

As FREE WORLD previously indicated, the difficulties of transportation for employees who lose from three to four hours in this way every day, the absence of fresh air and natural light, the endless corridors where people are always getting lost, the crowded offices, the ringing telephones and constant sense of noise due to the fact that there are only half-partitions in most offices—all these make concentration on a highly intellectual job almost impossible.

But during the General Assembly the choice of the Sperry Plant proved a near disaster. The delegates had to rush madly from the Council of Foreign Ministers at the Waldorf in New York to Flushing Meadow, to Lake Success and back again, with considerable loss of time and accompanying nervous tension which was certainly anything but helpful in an already difficult political situation.

In spite of all the good-will in the world, the members of the Secretariat are tired and nervous. Most of them are beginning to take their doses of aspirin as early as one o'clock in the afternoon in order to hold out until the late evening hours. Many of them have taken on a wierd bluish or grayish color and are merely waiting for the first occasion to change jobs—not because they lack enthusiasm for the UN, but because of the impossible working conditions.

For those without cars—and most of the employees do not own cars—there is only the already overcrowded Long Island train with its traditional lack of courtesy and comfort. Once arrived at Great Neck, a mad rush begins for the bus. People usually arrive late and harassed for meetings.

Inside UN headquarters, the long passageways look like corridors in a commercial fair, with people running back and forth looking for office numbers which, in many cases, do not follow consecutively. The cafeteria is overcrowded, and so is the restaurant, causing much loss of time for people who must wait in line. There are practically no good restaurants near the Plant, so that many of the delegates have to drive around for a half-hour or so to find a quiet place to lunch before they rush back to their meetings.

If it had not been for the bad impression they feared it would have on American public opinion, or if the decision for the UN headquarters had not been made previous to their arrival, there is no doubt that a European site would have been chosen, due to the technical difficulties here.

TOO MUCH ZEAL

There is a general conviction in UN quarters that somewhere along the line someone has neglected to inform Long Island policemen that the delegates have come to the UN not as pleasure-seeking, speed-mad tourists, but that they are sober, highly overworked government officials who put in a minimum 10-hour schedule every day, to say nothing of the extra meetings, dinners and receptions they must attend and are necessarily in a hurry to reach.

These people have traveled thousands of miles to do a very difficult job, and it would seem that a little cooperation is not too much to ask.

Great care is taken in selecting drivers of UN cars, but in spite of their careful driving the zeal of policemen—who see themselves celebrated as great national heroes for showing those "foreigners" how to behave—have become such that many of the delegates are removing the official UN emblem from their cars. They feel that this way they will at least not be singled out for special attention of the guardians of law and order.

Many a delegate has expressed his surprise that some of the more serious newspapers, in reporting UN matters, have not taken up this problem, explaining to the police authorities of Long Island that the General Assembly of the UN is of vital importance to mankind, that it is a political event of great significance, that in these deliberations the fate of the peace is being decided to a certain extent, that a vast structure for world cooperation is being built, and that everything must be done to help the delegates in this important work.

No delegate would quarrel with the principle of the police stopping speeding. But, to single out UN cars for discrimination is petty, misguided patriotism.

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THE FRANKEST UN ASSEMBLY

Flushing Meadow, December, 1946. It is the general agreement of the delegates that the present Assembly of the UN has been the frankest meeting of the Allies since the beginning of World War II.

(As FREE WORLD predicted in the June, 1946, issue: "The hottest open diplomacy show will be seen at the next Assembly of the UN in New York in September, when delegates of all the powers, large and small, will talk as diplomats have never talked before.")

Since the Assembly opened, twelve items of vital importance have been added to the Agenda, some of them—such as the proposal to eliminate the Veto, presented by Cuba—were such that only a few months ago no one would have dared to think possible.

In the various committees, the Big Three—the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain—who were the center of attention, expressed to each other, and were told in no uncertain terms by others, such things that have no doubt made the old-style diplomats who are still alive shiver in their beds at night, and those who are no longer among the living turn over in their graves.

During the Food debate, when the U. S. wanted to replace the concept of general distribution through an UNRRA agency by bi-lateral methods, it was told a good many unpleasant facts about its duty to continue its cooperation with its Allies during reconstruction as it had during the war.

On the Veto debate, Soviet Russia heard tiny Cuba and New Zealand express ideas and thoughts which had been on the tip of the tongue of many a delegate for a long time.

On colonialism, Great Britain heard a few speeches by the Indian and other delegations of which it was said that it was a good thing in the interests of keeping order in the Assembly that the Colonial Office in London did not have too many representatives present.

South Africa came to the Assembly with two good-sized debits: one was the desire to annex the Southwest African mandate; and the other, its attitude on the treatment of the Hindu minority. What South Africa heard makes it not at all surprising that the people at home in Johannesburg immediately arranged to have prayers said one Sunday afternoon for the South African delegation.

Many delegates regretted that Marshal Smuts—whose contributions in the past to the development of international law and human rights have been so outstanding and on such a high level—had permitted himself to be put in a position of defense of something that is indefensible in the spirit of the Charter.

Of course, the big powers could not let the attacks by the small nations pass unnoticed, and many an ironical remark has been made at the expense of the sudden awakening of democratic consciousness in some of the Latin American republics.

After having followed the proceedings in the various committees, in spite of the sharp tone of the debate the Editors have seen some healthy symptoms of international parliamentarism developing with all the ugliness and beauty of birth.

After all, the history of all parliaments, those of France and the U. S., as well as of other countries, have many a page which one would hesitate to read aloud to children.

TRAGI-COMIC REMARKS OVERHEARD IN THE LOBBIES

In a debate on the equal status of women, the Arab delegations were particularly active in stressing the historic importance of establishing international equality of men and women. After one of the meetings, a delegate commented, "What a strange world, indeed. If we were to apply the methods of our Arabian colleagues, the U. S. would soon ask for an international convention for abolition of all tariffs, the U.S.S.R. would ask for a revision of the Veto, England for the elimination of all colonial systems, South Africa for an international preferred status for Hindus, and Australia for an international free immigration convention.

* * *

Following one of the innumerable and endless debates on the refugee problem, a delegate remarked, "Lord Keynes once said, in speaking of short-run and long-run solutions of economic problems, 'in the long run we will all be dead, gentlemen.' I would say that in the long run the refugee problem will also be solved—when the last refugee dies."

* * *

After the Argentine delegation had appealed directly to the Soviet Union as a co-proletarian society, and stressed the workers' character of the new regime, a delegate remarked, "Yes, there are very skillful workers in the present Argentine regime. They are producing a little electric machine which, applied under the skin of a political prisoner, drives him insane."

* * *

Following a debate of the Site Committee, a prominent international personality remarked, "The way things are going, if a really frank and absolutely secret vote were taken on a permanent site, even the U. S. delegation would be against remaining in this country."

* * *

The use of procedural technicalities for the purpose of delaying certain meetings, which has gone so far as to stretch out for hours on such matters as whether a chairman had the right to put to a vote his right to ask for a vote, prompted one delegate to volunteer, "when we finally get down to the revision of the Charter, I will propose that an article be written in providing for immediate expulsion of any country whose delegation invokes technicalities of procedure."

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THE WORLD AT LARGE

20th CENTURY CAVE MEN?

Washington, D. C. The emergence of the threat of atomic warfare has turned many minds to the idea of using caves as underground housing for key industries and essential services.

Of the caves that have been mapped in the United States, less than 3 per cent could be arranged as underground sites for industries. In addition, most caves are located away from urban areas and are not keyed to the U. S. transportation network.

Knowledge concerning the engineering problems involved in the use of caves is not very extensive. To send construction crews underground under these conditions would be hazardous and irresponsible. If any extensive planning is contemplated for vast underground facilities, research will have to be expanded along the lines planned by the National Speleological Society.

According to experts, to provide space for all U. S. industries below the surface would entail immense capital outlay and occupy all American manpower and machinery for a generation. A system of priorities would have to be devised as to what should be put underground first and duplicate machinery will have to be installed and kept in readiness. (If one should wait until the first bombs are dropped to move the machinery, it would be too late.)

But every civilized man and woman, no matter in what country, will refuse to concede that the release of atomic energy, the result of decades of painstaking scientific work of the best minds of humanity, will not be put to constructive use and to opening new and beautiful horizons.

BRITAIN SPEAKS TO POLAND

Warsaw. Last month saw the appearance of the *Voice of England (Glos Anglii)*, a twelve-page illustrated weekly published in Polish for the purpose of informing Poland about the life and culture of Great Britain. The first issue of this first official British publication in Poland had a printing of 25,000 which sold out completely. The Polish prime minister, Mr. Osubka-Morawski, and the British foreign secretary, Mr. Bevin, were among those who sent congratulatory messages expressing the hope for increased harmony and understanding between the two countries.

A PIECE FROM THE INDIAN JIGSAW

New Delhi. An interesting by-product of the complex Indian political picture can be found in the grievance of Anglo-Indians. Offspring of marriages between Europeans and Indians, the "Anglo-Indians," have up to now, been extremely unpopular with Indian nationalists because of their support of the British Raj.

It is interesting to note that this minority group has been able to secure two seats in the Constituent Assembly only due to the support of the Congress Party. The Anglo-Indians are gratified by the understanding attitude of the Congress Party which, unlike the British Administration which benefited by their past services, had good reason to hold that Anglo-Indians had been hostile to the cause of Indian independence.

THE HONOR ROLL OF INTERNATIONAL FILMS

Cannes. The International Film Festival 1946, recently held at Cannes (France) is noteworthy for the emergence of dangerous rivals for the Hollywood film empire. The results follow:

Russia	8	prizes
France	6	"
United States	2	"
Czechoslovakia	2	"
Great Britain	2	"
Mexico	1	"
Poland	1	"
Sweden	1	"

The two American prizes went to Ray Milland for best masculine performance in "The Lost Weekend" and to Walt Disney for the animated cartoon, "Make Mine Music." The international prize for the best film of the year went to France for "Bataille du Rail" (The Battle of the Railroad—a dramatic story of the underground fight of French railroad men). It is interesting to note that the international prize for technicolor went to a Russian film, "The Stone Flower," that the prize for the best film of education went to Poland, and that the prize for best photography went to Mexico for "Maria Canderlaria."

POST-WAR CANADA

Ottawa. Canadian demobilization is virtually completed. The war industries are on a peacetime basis. Canadian national income in 1946 runs near the level of 11 billion dollars as against 5.5 billion dollars in 1939. The number of gainfully employed persons is 4.8 million versus 3.8 million in 1939. The number of unemployed has reached a low ebb at 126,000.

INROADS INTO DUTCH PURSES

The Hague. A capital lavy bill was introduced into the Lower House of the States-General. The levy is expected to yield two billion guilders.

The tax will apply to all holdings owned by persons domiciled in Holland for the past five years and also on the capital holdings in Holland of persons and corporations abroad.

Under the terms of the bill, a progressively increasing rate will be applied starting with ten per cent for all holdings totaling less than 100,000 guilders and reaching 25 per cent for holdings above one million guilders.

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GLIMPSES OF POLAND

Warsaw. The shattered Polish economy is being rebuilt under the terrible strain of acute shortages, complex adjustment to new frontiers and extensive government controls.

Figures for 1946 show industrial output at 70 per cent, agricultural production at 40 per cent and national income at some 50 per cent of the 1938 level. If one should take into account the decrease in population, the above figures would read 100 per cent for industry, 55 per cent for agriculture, and 110 per cent for national income.

Per capita food consumption is at present about 2,100 calories, or under 60 per cent of the prewar figure of 3,700 calories. Detailed figures on industrial production indicate a considerable increase in the output of production goods such as electric power and coal. Matters look much worse with regard to consumer goods. Production of cotton textiles amounts to only 64 per cent, that of hard leather 24 per cent, and soft leather less than 50 per cent of the prewar level.

The grave condition of Poland's economy becomes even more apparent in the light of the goals which the Polish government has set forth in the Three Year Plan of economic reconstruction. Even if the maximum provisions of the Plan should be carried out, in 1949 Poland will have barely surpassed her prewar production levels.

* * *

Jewish cultural life is reviving. A permanent Jewish theater has been established in Lodz under the sponsorship of the Association of Jewish Artists in Poland.

The Warsaw Jewish Library is being reconstituted and has recently received a freight carload of various books in Yiddish and Hebrew as a gift of Soviet Jewry.

* * *

The archives of the Warsaw Ghetto were found buried under the wreckage of a building. These archives and certain documents which were brought to America will make it possible to reconstruct the gruesome days of the Ghetto, the fight of the underground and the heroic armed uprising against the nazi occupants.

U. S. LEADS IN BRAZIL TRADE

Rio de Janeiro. During the first half of 1946, Brazil had a favorable foreign trade balance amounting to $124,970,200. Imports amounted to $280,432,500—exports totaled $405,402,700.

Five countries absorbed more than 70 per cent of the Brazilian exports: the United States took about 44 per cent; Argentina, 9 per cent; Great Britain, 9 per cent; China, 5 per cent; and Italy, 3½ per cent.

Over 87 per cent of Brazil's imports came from the following five countries: United States, 66½ per cent; Argentina, 8 per cent; Great Britain, 7 per cent; Sweden, over 3 per cent; and the Dutch West Indies, 3 per cent.

The values of Brazil's purchases from the United States during this period was $186,367,350 and the value of her sales to the U. S. was $177,694,950. Thus the United States has a favorable balance of trade with Brazil amounting to $8,672,400.

A DIAMOND JUBILEE

London. The Fabian Society recently celebrated its diamond jubilee, delayed two years by the war. G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sidney and Beatrice Webb were among the small group of intellectuals who founded the society which played a great role in the formation of the British Labor Party. Many an important social reform now being carried out by the Labor Government had originated among the Fabians.

Today, the society, with a growing membership of 7,000, is very active and carries on extensive research work through its Home Research, Colonial, and International Committees.

The Jubilee Concert was conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, and Prime Minister Attlee, a member of the Society since 1907, was the principal speaker.

GBS ON PALESTINIAN STAGE

Tel Aviv. "Arms and the Man," by George Bernard Shaw, is the newest addition to the repertory of the Ohel Workers' Theatre which, in addition to its regular season makes a yearly tour of the agricultural labor settlements. Thousands of settlers attend each performance held on a temporary stage erected out of doors.

A NEW STEP IN AIR TRAVEL

Paris. The yearly International Aeronautical Exhibition (Nov. 15 - Dec. 1) was held at the Grand Palais in Paris. British exhibitors presented a significant innovation in the field of commercial air travel: the Lancastrian Nene, the first and only airliner in the world using jet engines. The plane made several demonstration flights over Paris—the first major step toward regular jet-propelled passenger planes.

A STRAW IN THE WIND?

Jerusalem. A Socialist Arab party has appeared on the political scene in Palestine. It is being formed in opposition to the present Arab leaders who are accused of not representing the real interests of the Arabian population of Palestine.

The new party's membership of about 200 comprises mostly members of the liberal professions, physicians and lawyers. It advocates co-operation with similar parties recently formed in Syria and Iraq with a view to fighting the privileges and abuses of the propertied classes.

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An International Magazine For the United Nations

VOLUME XII, No. 5 DECEMBER, 1946

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FREE WORLD is published monthly by FREE WORLD, Inc., 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y., Chairman, HUGH MOORE, Treasurer, F. C. McKEE. Printed by Charles Francis Press, Inc., New York, N. Y., U. S. A., copyright, 1946, by FREE WORLD, Inc. All rights reserved; reproduction in whole or part prohibited without permission. Entered as second class matter September 17, 1941, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879, Vol. 12, No. 5. Price 40¢ per copy; $4.00 per year, Canada 50¢; $5.00 per year.

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FREE WORLD

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

PUBLISHED IN EIGHT EDITIONS: American, Mexican, French, Chilean, Chinese, Greek, Puerto Rican, Uruguayan. **In Preparation:** Russian, Swedish, Czechoslovakian, Italian, Arabic, British Editions.

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EDITORIALS

Reflections on the General Assembly

THE present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, with the sharp language of the various delegates in the commissions, is considered to have been one of the most interesting meetings of the UN. Experienced observers of international affairs, in comparing the Flushing Meadows meeting to those of San Francisco and London, point out that the first succeeded in drafting the Charter of the UN; the second succeeded in setting up the Organization; and the third, after an incredible procedural fight, achieved immense progress towards inspection and control of all armaments.

The Assembly has been characterized by the absence of usual diplomatic courtesy, but the smaller nations have had their full say without any serious restraint from the Big Powers. In many instances the small nations ran the show by provoking the most vital debates. Tiny Cuba started the one on the Veto; Panama ran the great human rights debate; Norway, Poland and Chile brought up the subject of Spain. Even the new Indian delegation, which for the first time was really representing a truly Indian government, had familiarized itself very rapidly with the procedures of an international conference, and unquestionably took the leadership of the dependent peoples.

IT was in this atmosphere—and with the Foreign Ministers' Conference still not having finally agreed on the peace treaties, with the German problem looming ahead dangerously because of the deep differences in the Anglo-American, Russian and French views, with the absence of an agreed international economic policy—it was in this atmosphere that the debates on the Veto and disarmament arose in the Assembly.

On both of these questions the Assembly felt the intense pressure of international public opinion, which is undoubtedly in favor of a system that would avoid abuse of the Veto, and effect a speedy disarmament. This probably explains Russia's relatively mild resistance to putting the Veto problem on the agenda, and the diligence with which all governments applauded the Soviet proposal for general disarmament.

However, in the course of the discussion it appeared clearly once more that all these problems are so inter-related and inter-dependent as to make any solution in a single field impossible. In the course of these debates before the Assembly, the hope for a so-called limited world government agreement on atomic energy again went overboard. But it appeared plainly that the peace treaties, economic arrangements, and international control of atomic energy were all indivisible parts of one great global issue—world organization vs. nationalism.

The first step in resolving this issue must of course be taken by the Conference of Foreign Ministers, and that is why a curious, unwritten connection was established between the Waldorf-Astoria and Lake Success. When the Foreign Ministers reached a deadlock, all the committees of the Assembly were automatically paralyzed.

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When the Foreign Ministers agreed on Trieste and the Danube, a breath of new life seemed suddenly to inspire the committees, with obstacles that had seemed insurmountable the day before being pushed aside. It was in those periods of new vigor that the best debates on international inspection took place, that the farthest-reaching proposals were made in the spirit of the Charter on international disarmament, protection of human rights, and trusteeships.

IN the over-all picture, the Assembly has at least succeeded in becoming the faithful reflection of the world, with all its deep divisions and its diversified ideological currents. It has succeeded in demonstrating once more that solutions to the various political, social and economic problems can no longer be found within the framework of the old alliance concepts or in bi-lateral agreements, and that the only way out is world organization. It has succeeded in demonstrating clearly that none of the powers dares consider withdrawal from the UN, for they all know by now that such a withdrawal would be tantamount to an act of open hostility to the rest of the world. It has demonstrated that there is not a single issue, however delicate, that can be kept from being debated before the eyes of world public opinion.

These demonstrations, and particularly the last one, will certainly result in a more careful composition of the delegations to the General Assemblies of the future, as governments realize more and more the importance of their Foreign Services. They must send to the Assembly the most brilliant political and economic minds, the best speakers, the most highly qualified persons in parliamentary methods, and the truest devotees to international cooperation. For anyone who does not genuinely believe in international cooperation has no place in the Assembly, and can only succeed in rallying all the others against himself.

Impact of the U. S., French and Italian Elections on the UN

WHILE the General Assembly of the United Nations has been in session, elections of great political importance have been held in the United States, France and Italy.

On the evenings of November 5th and 10th, the delegates of the UN, while apparently concentrating on their routine business in evening sessions, dinners or conferences, were in reality anxiously awaiting reports on the outcome of the elections. They knew that the results of these elections would long be felt in the deliberations of the new world Organization and in the general settlement of pending international problems and conflicts.

It is true that the official records do not contain any mention of these elections; diplomatic protocol and the basic UN principle of non-intervention in internal affairs made it impossible for any delegate to comment officially. But it is important, for a complete historical record of our times, to mention that in the lobbies and in private conversations the delegates were talking for days of nothing but these elections.

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RESULTS from all three countries came as sort of bombshells. The first fell on November 5, the American elections.

While seasoned political observers were anticipating a Republican swing in the U.S., they did not think that the Democrats would lose the majority in both the House and the Senate. The Senate is of particular importance from the international point of view because this is the body which must ratify any treaty in which the U. S. participates.

With the Senate also passing under Republican control, the research services of the various delegations began anxiously to examine the foreign policy conceptions of that party, and waited impatiently for official statements by the Republican leaders on their international aims. Many delegates were satisfied that there would be no basic change in U. S. foreign policy, and particularly in those aspects relating to the United Nations. A considerable number of others, however, remain convinced that the swing to the right will affect international relations, and will result in a tougher U. S. policy towards Russia and Eastern Europe, a sharp cut in foreign expenditures, and perhaps a reorientation of American economic policy.

On the 10th, came two more bombshells with the announcement of the election results in France and Italy. In these two countries—of vital strategic importance on the European continent — the Communist parties outstripped the Socialists and emerged stronger than ever before. But they encountered an almost equal strength in the Catholic Democratic parties.

As far as France is concerned, it had been generally assumed that the Communists, while losing some ground in the election, would still emerge as the strongest French party, because it was believed that the Popular Republicans of Georges Bidault had been weakened by General de Gaulle's opposition to the new Constitution. However, when the election results were announced, it was found that Communists, instead of losing votes, had gained slightly over the past, while the Popular Republicans had maintained their strength.

In Italy, where only municipal elections were held, the Communists again showed considerable strength, and emerged as potentially a leading party in the country.

THE contradictory election results have once more convinced the General Assembly of the UN that the really basic problem is still the securing of the peaceful coexistence of the two major ideologies which characterize our world and whose leaders are the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. But the elections have also convinced many of the leading delegations of the UN that the time has come to realize that besides these two major ideologies there is a new one emerging, particularly in Western Europe, which is semi-planned, semi-socialist, politically democratic. More and more of the European powers seem to be tending toward such a formula of synthesis between East and West, thus indicating clearly in their foreign policy that they do not want to be tied permanently to either of the two great blocs, and that they are deeply convinced that only by taking the best of the American and Russian systems can they achieve a really constructive program in their domestic affairs.

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ELECTIONS: TO RIGHT and TO LEFT

November's elections in the U. S., France and Italy reflected the division of the world on the elemental problem of our time: the status of social man and the character of social organization; individualism or collectivism. Here are dispatches from 'round the world appraising these elections and their indications.

from LONDON:

by JOHN CLYDE

Noted British journalist, political commentator, and correspondent of FREE WORLD *Magazine*

ONE Londoner's comment on the hardening of French electoral opinion into Right and Left *blocs* was, "This comes of being a logical people." He was expressing the general British view on those foreigners who don't play cricket and who stab their wives instead of kicking them to death in bed. Shrewder analysts asked whether any democratic system anywhere could survive the strain of four voting days in one year. Tories welcomed the increase in Right votes as a sign of Right revival in Europe. Some Socialists, while fully aware that lethargic leadership explains in part the slow but steady elimination of the French Socialist Party, argue that Blum has received too little support from the Social Democratic Government of Great Britain.

The drive for exports, these Socialists point out, has been toward markets which can show quick returns, and it is only now that a modest Anglo-French trading agreement is nearing completion. The British Government has been careless whether Europe learns, through the British Broadcasting Company or from any other source, about the vast, speedy and, on the whole, successful social revolution that is making Great Britain the most exciting country in Europe today. In France, as elsewhere, British social democracy is discussed only in terms of foreign policy, which has scored no successes as yet except in India, where Labour Party and not India Office policy has been applied. A recent appeal on behalf of the French Socialist Party for financial help to fight the elections evoked almost no response in the British Labour Movement.

The impact of the sweeping Republican victory in the United States was immensely more definite. It scared everybody. Even the Tories, enthusiastic for the creation of an Anglo-American alliance against Russia and resigned, if necessary, to sacrificing the unity of the British Empire to any financial arrangements needed to underpin the alliance, fear the removal of controls and the growing threat of an American slump. What shall it profit them to restore the political power of capitalism throughout Europe if capitalism suffers eclipse at home?

Socialists are scared for other reasons, and the first reaction was the amendment to the King's Speech, signed by 58 Labour M.P.s and calling for a change in the direction of British foreign policy. They contemplate with horror the prospect of conflict with Russia. They watch with dismay the slow death of the Continental Social Democratic Parties of which, they once hoped, the British Government would become the leader. The administrative and economic collapse of the British Zone in Germany lies heavily on their conscience as internationalists. They resent the first important domestic result of what passes for Anglo-American foreign policy—the doubling of the projected peacetime Army at a moment when British industry is desperately short of man-power. They anticipate that the American loan will decrease in value so rapidly that its effect in blunting the sharp sword of austerity will have disappeared long before economic reconstruction will have forged a protective armor for the vast new program of social services. Like the Tories, they fear the repercussions of an American slump which, they think, would disrupt the

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progress of planning, only the materials of which, in the form of authentic information about the state of British industry, are becoming available now.

The background to all British attitudes consists of hard economic facts. The sellers' market has given a flying start to the British export drive, but it may dry up by July, 1947, when sterling is made convertible. The efficiency of British industry, as revealed in the reports received from cotton, pottery, footwear and hosiery justify no confidence in the competitive power of British capitalism. Despite an improving budgetary situation, the balance of payments is running strongly against Great Britain. One estimate of the implications of the foreign policy which requires around two million instead of one million men in the armed forces is that it will increase our need for foreign currency—i.e., dollars—by no less than £350,000,000 a year—a figure that would be decisive in relation to Great Britain's external position.

Those Labour M.P.s revolting against the Government are groping toward the truth that foreign policy is economics. They seek no break with America. What they deplore is the failure to show any initiative in developing co-operation with Russia. An offer to negotiate an oil agreement following upon the Shinwell-Ickes conversations might have averted the unhappy events in Persia—and this proposal, I understand, was made at Cabinet level at the time. The permanent World Food Board, which America has virtually repudiated, might have been strengthened if Russian suspicions that it is another Anglo-American capitalist set-up had been exploded authoritatively. The removal of Mr. Noel-Baker from the Foreign Office team of Ministers and the transferrence from Civil Aviation to the Colonial Office of a youthful Russophobe are not regarded as happy portents.

Before these notes appear in print, the revolt of the Labour M.P.s will have ceased to make headlines in the British press. Its influence inside the Labour movement, however, will be profound. And because Ministers like Cripps, Shinwell, Bevin and Griffiths are beginning to find relief from their administrative preoccupations, the Cabinet itself may be expected to reflect the changing mood of its supporters.

Certainly, "continuity of policy"—the name given, by the way, to the Foreign Office tradition which was developed eighty years ago and directed toward appeasing Germany at the expense of Russia—is dying. American capitalism will be its gravedigger. The big question asked here is whether Mr. Bevin will be a pall-bearer or will represent the corpse.

from BRUSSELS:

by PAUL STRUYE

Eminent Belgian Senator and resistance leader; member of the Social-Christian Party; author of "Public Opinion Under the Occupation," and other works

THE results of the American elections were unexpected. Not, certainly, in their general trend; everyone foresaw the set-back to a party that fourteen years of power had singularly worn and fatigued. But the extent of the Republican success went beyond the most sanguine predictions.

One recalls instinctively the precedent of 1918. In that epoch, also, a Democratic President saw himself repudiated by a majority of his compatriots, and his reverse marked a turning point in the foreign policy of the United States. The circumstances, however, were far different from those of today. Woodrow Wilson made the great mistake of exercising a sort of personal government in foreign affairs, acting always on his own, and having confidence in no one but himself and Colonel House. In spite of the Republican success in the elections of 1918, Wilson continued this practice. And on his return from Paris, after the war, he undertook a campaign in favor of the League of Nations of which he had been one of the principal architects and in the formulation of which the Republican Party of his country had had no part. The traditional isolationism of America surged up to oppose union with a League founded on the solidarity of all peoples against any aggression or any injustice of which any nation whatsoever might be the victim.

When Wilson was laid low, there was no one of the stature to take his place, to defend his work. The presidential elections of 1920 gave sixty per cent of the ballots to the Republican

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candidate Warren G. Harding. American destiny, on the domestic and on the international planes, took a totally different course.

THIS time, the "revolution" will not have the same setting. Informed by experience, President Roosevelt had the wisdom to maintain close contact with the outstanding leaders of the Republican opposition on matters of foreign affairs. His competitor for the presidency, the late Wendell Willkie, was charged by him with missions in Europe and elsewhere. Franklin Roosevelt always insisted on associating the entire nation with his foreign policy.

For this reason, it seems to us that the abrupt change evidenced by the recent election will have no marked effect on the broad lines of American foreign political policies. The United States remains convinced of the necessity of collaboration with the peoples of other continents. True, isolationism numbers some prominent adherents in the Republican ranks; one might cite notably Senator Taft. But it would be vain to believe that a tendency which has its roots in the depths of America's history will ever disappear without a trace. The essential is that at the present time the Republican as well as the Democratic leaders are convinced of the factual solidarity of the continents, and of the irresistibly contagious character of modern wars.

It appears to us that the accession of the Republicans to power will in all likelihood give the foreign policy of the United States more firmness and fixity. Despite the fact that the official attitudes defined by Mr. Truman were entirely clear, we have been astonished at a certain indecision, or appearance of indecision in the course of these last months. One recalls particularly the sensational declarations of Mr. Wallace, to which the President had previously given a benediction that he was obliged to withdraw precipitately a few hours later.

The Republican majority, whose success is due in part of its anti-Communist banner, will hardly be disposed to multiply capitulations to Soviet demands. On the other hand, nothing justifies us in presuming that the new majority will be animated by hostile sentiments toward Russia. No one suspects the victorious party of having plans for any anti-Soviet crusade. Peace is certainly the first of its preoccupations. Moreover, the ideas of freedom which it defends, especially freedom from government controls, can find their expression only in time of peace.

But if there is no reason for us to be disquieted by the Republican success from the standpoint of the international political situation, there are certain reservations one must make in economic matters. In some quarters there is apprehension of the danger of an exaggerated protectionism, which would hinder the return of international trade to freedom of exchange. Reassuring declarations have already been spread abroad. But it would be wise to await the language of actions.

from SHANGHAI:

by VALIQUETTE RUNDLE

Far Eastern correspondent of FREE WORLD *Magazine*

CHINESE newspapers generally interpreted the sweeping Republican victories in the United States elections as an expression of dissatisfaction with President Truman's domestic policies, and the majority concurred with Shanghai's daily *Cheng Yen Pao* "United States policy toward China is unlikely to change."

The results of the election were not unexpected, since the Chinese press and intelligensia have been well aware through dispatches of American news agencies that the President and the Democratic Party have been declining in public favor in the United States. But national leaders of the intelligensia are eyeing the future keenly, aware that election results are symptomatic of changes in American thinking which may eventually greatly influence China.

China's "lao pa shin lao pa shin" (man in the street) is generally blissfully unaware of the elections and will be concerned only if the fullness of his rice bowl, or the continuation or end of the civil war in China are eventually affected.

The most important question in the mind of the thinking Chinese is what effect the Republican-controlled Congress will have on two matters: (1) the United States policy of one-sided support of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek; and (2) China's getting the long-since promised and deferred five-hundred-million-dollar loan. Both are closely tied in the minds of the

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Chinese leaders of all political complexions with the civil war.

Chinese Nationalists believe that the Republican Congress is likely to stiffen support of the Kuomintang, in line with the anticipated global policy of stiffening resistance to Soviet influences. Communists also anticipate similar action and look forward to a tougher Nationalist attitude toward Chinese Reds, with decreasing prospects of concessions, since the Republican victory is interpreted as a victory for conservatism.

Even more important in Communist eyes is the question of the attitude of a Republican Congress on further financial aid to Chiang Kai Shek. For Communists sincerely feel that the civil war could not be prolonged without continued American financial assistance. One of their strongest hopes is that the American public will put pressure on Congress against the loan unless the civil war is ended and a real coalition government is formed before the next Congress meets—both of which prospects appear very remote.

THERE is no expectation of a sudden change in the foreign policy of the United States. However, both Kuomintang and Communists are acutely conscience of the decline in China's prestige and the deterioration of the sentimental sympathy toward China which marked the war period. Both factions recognize in the changing American political expression a situation that could be crystalized in decisions taken during the next Congress.

China has been prepared for a revision of American policy toward China ever since the death of Roosevelt, who was the best known of any foreign figure, even to the lowliest ricksha coolie or peasant. Republican victories are regarded as but another phase of the changing situation which had its beginning with his death.

The English language *China Press* puts the thoughts of many Chinese into an editorial which reads: "One era in American history has ended and a new era is about to begin. This may possibly lead to the end of one phase of American policy and the beginning of a new one, not so radically different in outward form, but perhaps entirely dissimilar to the previous one in spirit and objective. In any case the Roosevelt era of 'New Deal' near-socialism is doomed to eclipse. This we consider not only as a loss for the American people but for the entire world. Roosevelt's great image will continue to hover over Washington but the spirit of the men in power will be different."

Informed Chinese regard the division between the executive and legislative branches of the American government, which resulted from the election, as an object lesson for the drafters of China's Constitution in the controversial National Assembly now meeting at Nanking. The influential Shanghai *Shun Pao,* after describing Truman's position in relation to Congress said: "The lesson from the United States is that China should not imitate any foreign method of political administration inappropriate to this country. We must adopt a form of democracy suitable here and originated by our leaders."

from GOTHENBURG:

by GUNNAR FAGRELL

Swedish correspondent of FREE WORLD *Magazine*

SCANDINAVIANS are inclined to look with skeptical and bewildered eyes on everything happening outside their region just now. The many elections being held in foreign countries are hardly able to compete for front-page news with domestic issues.

Communist gains in the French Assembly elections of November 10 were a surprise. But in the case of the Italian municipal elections of the same day, the success of the "Common Man Front" (Il Fronte del' Uomo Qualunque) was more commented upon than were the gains of the Communists. Regarding the Italian election, the Stockholm newspaper *Expressen* writes: "Successes won by this crypto—Fascist party will probably further emphasize political antagonisms and hinder Italian rehabilitation and recovery. Nor can it be said that this party's great gains were compensated by Communist victories. These municipal elections will, of course, have no immediate effect on Italy's national politics. But the foundation of Gaspari's coalition government has been seriously shaken."

In commenting on the French elections, De Gaulle's name appears repeatedly. The Helsinki

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Hufvudstadsbladet writes: "Now, both the domestic and the external positions of France are strained, and the domestic economic and social situation is unstable. Over this scene falls the shadow of the man who still considers himself chosen to save his fatherland and, if necessary, to cut its Gordian knot. Is this fact recognized? Maybe it wasn't solely to attract attention that the French press, in commenting on the elections, implied the danger of civil war." The Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* says: "It is certain that De Gaulle gave his Communist enemies a measure of support. His peculiar behavior has allowed the danger of dictatorship to become visible and made some voters join the Communists as a surer defense than the Socialists." The Stockholm *Tidningen* agrees that De Gaulle gave the Communists many votes, labels his election effort weak, and considers the possibility of the Communist Thorez becoming Premier with Catholic Bidault remaining as Foreign Minister. The paper speculates on this combination, reminding that Bidault has generally sided with Byrnes and Bevin against Molotov.

Scandinavian papers devoted considerably more space in both their newspapers and editorial columns to the elections in the United States than to those in Italy and France. They are generally agreed that the Truman administration was the principal cause of the reverses suffered by the Democratic Party. Immediately after the elections, most editorials reflected the opinion that no modification of United States foreign policy was imminent. But lately the wind has changed and the revolt in the British Labor Party in Commons has been taken as a sign that Britain interprets the American elections as possibly initiating a new period of American isolationism. In Norway, the Oslo *Dagbladet* entitles an editorial "U. S. Turns The Clock Back" and writes that the Democratic defeat was considerably greater than had been expected. The paper notes that a Republican Party foreign policy spokesman, intoxicated by victory, declared that the Party will make American foreign policy clearer and more determined. This is taken to mean that the United States proposes to exercise greater influence. The spokesman is reported to have declared that most people in the world wanted such leadership by the U. S. "This is also in our own interest for we are insecure in a world where un-American ideals have the upper-hand. The tendency," concludes the Oslo paper, "is obvious enough."

The Copenhagen *Politiken* points out that the similar political situation in the United States after World War I is not an exact parallel of the present. Nevertheless, it says, the existence of a Democratic President and a Republican Congress presents an almost impossible situation although it does not believe that this will result in great changes in foreign policy. "It has long been clear," the paper says, "that President Truman does not possess his predecessor's happy ability to join Americans in common efforts."

Most of the Swedish press expected that President Truman would resign, and for several days after the election almost all carried stories on this subject. The attitude of Scandinavians toward the Truman administration must be viewed in the light of the fact that these people were exceedingly impressed by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

from PARIS:

by LAURA VITRAY

European correspondent of FREE WORLD *Magazine*

THOUGH they have been deeply absorbed in their own election problems and in the birth of the Fourth Republic, the French have had time to view with an unquiet eye the results of the elections in the United States. Particularly, some of the post-election developments, such as the United Mine Workers strike —with its accompanying threats of coal shortages affecting French recovery, rising prices for commodities France must purchase in the United States, Republican anti-labor legislation, weakening of organized labor's position in America, and possible strengthening of isolationist feeling as a result of the apparent swing to the right.

A mere enumeration of these worries is sufficient to indicate how mixed the liberal Frenchman's emotions are bound to be as he views events on the other side of the Atlantic. The Frenchman of almost any political party is today a believer in economic as well as political democracy. He wants to see the American

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worker given a square deal, and he knows from grim experience something about the struggle to buckle the family budget around the cost of living.

On the other hand, he is fully aware that France's credits in the United States are extremely limited in relation to the great number of purchases she must make to get her production under way again: purchases of machinery, of coal and raw materials. Every time wages and prices take a new upward jump in the United States, French dollar credits shrink proportionately, and along with them, the Frenchman's chance of emerging from the penury of the war years. People in this country never get done regretting the death of President Roosevelt. They feel that had he lived, postwar adjustments for all countries would have been less difficult.

At a time when the French have shown their determination to push social and economic reforms, they see in an American swing toward reaction cause for fear that the future destinies of mankind may be compromised, that America may retreat from her position of moral leadership, lose sympathy with the aspirations of the other nations of the world; that differences with Russia may be emphasized.

Certainly there are many here who believe that party politics in the United States can no longer affect American foreign policy, that the American isolationist is now an internationalist at heart. Yet not all agree with this point of view. Says the independent, moderately right-wing Paris daily *France–Soir*: "The conservative Republican Party was never converted to the policies of international economic cooperation envisaged by Roosevelt. Being conservative, the Republican Party has always found this policy too costly, caring more about the federal budget than the economic unity of the world. The Republicans accept, much against their will, all such measures of economic cooperation as UNRRA, the International Bank and Monetary Fund, monetary stabilization, the lowering of tariff barriers. This tendency toward non-cooperation in the economic domain will certainly be accentuated by the Republican victory."

Former French Ambassador François-Poncet, writing in the moderately conservative, influential daily *Figaro,* expressed much the same opinion concerning the Republicans. He said: "They are of protectionist tendency, little favorable to the lowering of tariffs, little disposed to lend money abroad, opposed to expenditures and eager for economies. Therein lies the risk that they will facilitate neither the re-establishment of international commerce, nor the development of exportations by those countries whose industry and finance have been ruined by the war, nor the continuance of the humanitarian work of UNRRA."

Immediately after the American elections there was a marked effort to discount such pessimistic judgments. Frenchmen who counseled optimism were of two categories: those who doubted that the Republicans would consolidate their victory at the Presidential elections in 1948, and those who believed that the Republicans themselves had changed.

Typical of the second group is the report in the Paris moderate newspaper ***Le Monde*** which says: "It seems that the cure of opposition which the Republican Party has undergone was salutary and that with few reserves the party has definitely repudiated isolationism (all Republicans except two voted for the Charter of the United Nations), exaggerated protectionism, and hostility to measures of social organization. It is even true that the young Republican generation has given proof of a very open, very liberal spirit, and feels only repugnance for the narrow and belated reaction symbolized by Senator Taft."

Such optimism is on the wane as the French read the daily report in their newspapers of the John L. Lewis affair. In this they are inclined to see much more than a Lewis–Truman duel. Says the independent, militantly progressive daily *Franc-Tireur* "The present trial of strength is not directed against the Democratic President. It is a struggle between unionism which would maintain its recent conquests, and the Republicans, victorious in the elections, whose right wing considers these conquests as abusive privileges and intends to suppress them." And the Paris left-wing periodical *Action* writes: "It is on the result of this struggle of American workers against monopolistic capital that the fate of the whole of humanity depends in the years to come. A prolonged strike in the mines could lead to severe countermeasures. Social tension may take on a character of violence such that American financial capital would only be able to maintain its domination by political dictatorship and, in the last analysis, by Fascism."

The French worker views this struggle with profound emotion, knowing that should it last long, it is his own people who much pay the price in increased privations. All the same, there is little sympathy here for American reaction.

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The REPUBLICANS SPEAK:

Last month's elections gave the Republican Party a majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives for the first time in fourteen years. Anxiously, the world is asking: what affect will Republican control of Congress have upon the foreign policies of the United States? Here are extracts from the pronouncements of the party and its leaders during and since the 1944 campaign that throw light on this question.

from the keynote speech of Governor Earl Warren of California at the Republican National Convention, Chicago, June 26, 1944:

"As Republicans, we are united in uncompromising opposition to aggression. We are prepared to take a definite stand against aggression, not merely to denounce, but to resist it and restrain it. That calls for effective cooperation with all the peace-loving nations of the world: for the establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of international disputes which otherwise might lead to war . . . We stand ready to welcome every nation that is prepared in honesty and good-will to join with us in the accomplishment of that purpose. And we know that if we are to maintain respect among the nations of the world, if we are to be able to keep our own commitments and compel recalcitrants to keep theirs, we must keep America ever strong and self-reliant."

from the national platform of the Republican Party, 1944:

"We favor responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world.

"Such organization should develop effective cooperative means to direct peace forces to prevent or repel military aggression. Pending this, we pledge continuing collaboration with the United Nations to assure these ultimate objectives . . . We shall seek, in our relations with other nations, conditions calculated to promote world-wide economic stability, not only for the sake of the world, but also to the end that our own people may enjoy a high level of employment in an increasingly prosperous world.

"We assure American farmers, livestock producers, workers and industry that we will establish and maintain a fair protective tariff on competitive products so that the standards of living of our people shall not be impaired through the importation of commodities produced abroad by labor or producers functioning on lower standards than our own . . . The Republican Party, always remembering that its primary obligation, which must be fulfilled, is to our own workers, our own farmers and our own industry, pledges that it will join with others in leadership in every cooperative effort to remove unnecessary and destructive barriers to international trade. We will always bear in mind that the domestic market is America's greatest market and that tariffs which protect it against foreign competition should be modified only by reciprocal bilateral trade agreements approved by Congress."

from the report of the Republican Post-War Advisory Council, Mackinac Conference, September 7, 1944:

"We consider it to be our duty . . . as an Advisory Council of the Republican Party to declare our approval of . . . responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world" . . . The Council "recommends that we work toward a policy which will comprehend other means than war for the determination of international controversy; . . . the attainment of a peace that will prevail by virtue of its inherent reciprocal interests and its spiritual foundation reached from time to time with the understanding of the peoples of the negotiating nations . . . The Council invites all Americans to adhere to the principles here set forth to the end that our place among the nations of the world and our part in helping to bring about international peace and justice shall not be the subject of domestic partisan controversy and political bitterness."

from statement of Governor Thomas E. Dewey on Dumbarton Oaks Plan, October 9, 1944:

"We must find agreement as to voting rights within the Council (of the UN) . . . We must seek the views of other nations who will be

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members. Not only the great but the small nations must have a full share in shaping the peace structure if it is to work."

from speech of Governor Dewey at New York City, November 4, 1944:

"American participation in a world organization for peace can only be built by a President and a Congress – Republican and Democrat alike – working together in harmony and respect."

from speech of Governor Dewey at Lincoln Day Dinner, New York City, February 9, 1945:

"We have nailed to our masthead one principle to which I believe we must everlastingly adhere, or principles will count no more in the face of force. That is that as a nation we can, we will, and we must take a full, responsible part in the establishment of collective security among nations."

from speech of Mr. Harold E. Stassen in Minneapolis, March 7, 1945:

Listing main points of a proposed foreign policy, "That as a nation we will join with our present Allies at San Francisco to build a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the World, based on justice and law and insured by force . . . That we do not subscribe to the extreme view of nationalistic sovereignty . . . That we are willing to delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty to our United Nations organization."

from speech of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg before the Senate, April 1, 1945:

"The art of peace is not to identify peace with a static condition. That assures war. Peace requires instrumentalities which, on the one hand, prevent violent and evil change while, on the other hand, they facilitate such changes as will effect a more just and equitable arrangement of the world."

from speech of Governor Dewey at New York City, June 7, 1945:

"Efforts should begin at once toward settlement of the lend-lease obligations arising out of this war. Every action to this end . . . should be directed . . . to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and to the elimination of other trade barriers.

"High tariffs are one barrier we ourselves can lead in reducing, as we have done in recent years and as we shall continue to do under the renewed Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act when Congress completes action upon it. Beyond that, our country should initiate a world conference for general tariff reductions.

"We do not intend to see the world fall back into the conflicts and antagonisms of ultra-nationalism.

"Cooperation between the British and ourselves must be a cornerstone in any program of world economic revival."

from speech of Mr. Stassen before the Academy of Political Science, New York City, November 9, 1945:

"I suggest the United States propose an amendment to Article 26 of the United Nations Charter providing that no nation shall manufacture an atomic bomb and that the manufacture or possession of such a bomb would be a crime against mankind.

"The concept of absolute nationalistic sovereignty no longer serves the people of this world. It is a barrier that prevents that successful cooperation which every other fact of modern life demands.

"It is my view that the first pennant nailed to the mast of our foreign policy should state the objective to promote the slow, steady march of social and economic and cultural progress of all mankind and the general welfare of one world at peace."

from resolution adopted by National Republican Club, January 22, 1946:

"Germany should be permitted to rebuild her industrial and transport facilities to sustain life in Germany and support the economic systems of other European nations . . . The expelling of millions of people from their homes in the eastern parts of Europe should be stopped." Called for an international economic conference. Supported the British loan if Britain would eliminate the sterling area, abolish imperial preference, and give U. S. airport rights.

from the statement of policy adopted February 3, 1946, by the Republican Chairmen of twelve Mid-West states:

"The responsibility for world leadership has fallen on American shoulders, but in our dealings with other nations we must not make this land of plenty a land of scarcity."

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from speech of Mr. Herbert Hoover in New York City, February 13, 1946:

"The Republican Party owes it to the American people to give them the opportunity to express themselves flatly on this issue (individual freedom) as they did against slavery in 1860 under Mr. Lincoln. I have no fear that they would not declare for freedom rather than for the world-wide reaction today toward economic serfdom."

from the press interview of Senator Vandenberg following his return from the General Assembly meeting in London, February 17, 1946:

"The Government of the United States must not be a silent partner in this cooperative enterprise (UN). It is our own right and it is our duty to speak in these councils just as firmly and just as earnestly for our ideals of justice and the fundamentals of freedom as it is for others in the UN to assert their viewpoints . . . I hope to see the Government of the United States more firmly assert its moral leadership in these respects."

from speech of Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska before the World Bill of Rights Association, New York City, March 3, 1946:

"The only hope of salvaging peace and the freedom of hundreds of millions now caught in the crossfire of bitter conflict of power politics is for America to compete with Russia for the allegiance of mankind on the basis of a respect for the liberty, dignity and the rights of others."

from speech of Senator Hugh A. Butler of Nebraska, March 20, 1946:

"We oppose the making of loans to foreign governments on other than a sound financial basis, and any such loans should be made by and through private channels."

from statement of the Sub-Committee on National Foreign Policy of the Republican National Committee, April 1, 1946:

Demands "that the State Department be reorganized that it may possess cohesion and unity of purpose; that only those persons who believe in the American way of life and are loyal to the American Government shall be employed in the Department; that the President and the State Department demonstrate their trust in the UNO and in our own hemisphere organization. Let the United States act in the councils of the UNO in a manner commensurate with our world position and prestige, and give thereby direction, constructive purpose, and vitality to the UNO; that our Administration leadership demonstrate through UNO in behalf of such nations as Poland the same zeal which is now so evident with respect to oil-rich Iran."

from speech of Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts before the New York Young Republican and Women's National Republican Club, New York City, April 5, 1946:

"As American citizens and as Republicans let us give them (UN) our enthusiastic backing. We must have faith and hope that their objectives will be attained."

from speech of Senator Vandenberg at Paris, September 14, 1946:

"The authority of American foreign policy is dependent upon the degree of American unity behind it . . . This is the only road to organized peace and collective security . . . I am sure most Republicans, despite inevitable differences in some aspects, will be glad to continue to seek unity with the Administration in a bi-partisan foreign policy on a sound American basis which rejects dictatorship by anybody, which is neither hostile nor subservient to any other power on earth, and which defends human rights and fundamental freedom."

from speech by Senator Taft at Decatur, Ill., October 16, 1946:

"The foreign lending program threatens a continuation of inflation in a dangerous form . . . It is unlikely that these loans ever will be repaid. If they are not stopped entirely, they will be greatly cut down in rate, and when that happens we face the collapse which follows any artificial inflation of business by unwise credit policies."

from speech by Senator Vandenberg at Detroit, October 19, 1946:

"It is . . . vitally necessary that we should be wholly frank with Russia—say what we mean and mean what we say. Candor must not be mistaken for ill will. And that, too, is why we must have, so far as self-serving politicians will permit, a united American foreign policy, supported generally by Republicans and Democrats alike, so there will be no delusion abroad that we are vulnerable because we are at the mercy of internal divisions . . . This much is certain. America's bipartisan foreign policy today is not a policy of war. It is a policy of peace. In my opinion, it will succeed—unless it is scuttled here at home."

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PUBLIC OPINION and THE UNITED NATIONS

by JAN MASARYK

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

IN these post-war days of almost continuous international conferences, Foreign Ministers have little time for outside activities. For years, many of us have been looking forward to two weeks' holiday in the sun, away from the war and its aftermath. So far there has been little time for either holiday or, in my case, for music. We are busy—in London, in Paris, in New York and in Prague. But I accepted the presidency of the World Federation of United Nations Associations because I believe fervently in the United Nations Organization which we are building up and, above all, because I believe in the necessity of the people of the world ensuring that their hopes are not disappointed. I wish I had more time to devote to this part of Lake "Success."

When the United Nations Assembly met in London to set up the Organization which millions all over the world are hoping will bring them peace and security, the results were encouraging, but those of us who took part in that conference were conscious that only the foundations had been laid. The problems before the United Nations were so many and so complicated that some were afraid they might prove too much for the young Organization.

Today, the delegates attending the General Assembly at Flushing Meadows or sitting on committees at Lake Success are a little more optimistic. There seems to be a sense of optimism and cooperation here that was not apparent in either London or at the Peace Conference in Paris. I feel the achievements of the past six months have so far justified the hopes placed in the United Nations, and the long list of items on the agenda of the Assembly has shown that the nations of the world look upon the Assembly as the focal point for the solution of international problems.

Should I touch wood when I speak thus? While the United Nations is already a solid organization with enormous possibilities, it is still very young indeed. Fifty-four nations with different social structures and different religions, of different race and color and speaking different languages can hardly be expected to be unanimous on the varied problems before them, veto or no veto. Certainly all agree in their longing for peace but only with time can they come to understand each other's approach to the same ideal.

PERSONALLY, I believe that the Organization which we have set up is one of which we may be permanently proud before long. But as Mr. Trygve Lie reminded us in his report to the General Assembly, "The success of the United Nations depends ultimately on the continued support of the peoples of the world. This support, in turn, must be based upon enlightened public opinion and the widest possible knowledge of the problems concerning the United Nations and the procedure used for their solution. This is true at all times, it is particularly true at times of crisis. Recognition is given to this fact in almost every chapter of the Charter and great stress is laid upon public meetings and the necessity of keeping the people fully informed on all developments." That is the task to which Assistant Secretary-General Benjamin Cohen and his Public Information Department are devoting themselves, but no one realizes more than they that public relations must mean much more than press releases and radio scripts if their task is to be achieved.

Alongside the official Public Information Department there must be an unofficial body helping the United Nations to "capture the imagination and harness the enthusiasm of the people of the world"—there must be a peoples' movement for the United Nations. That is the *raison d'etre* of the United Nations Associations which have been formed in twenty-four coun-

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tries of the world; that is the aim of the World Federation of United Nations Associations which the national Associations set up a few months ago at a congress in Luxembourg. Some of these Associations, such as the British and American—which recently held successful United Nations Week campaigns—are already well established. Others are just beginning work. I am confident that if they can succeed in their task of rallying the people of their respective countries behind the United Nations, they will be making a big contribution toward world peace and understanding.

We in Europe remember how important has been the role of public opinion in many of the crises which have shaken our battered continent. We remember how successful was popular opposition to the Hoare-Laval Pact in 1935; we remember how the patriotism of the people of Yugoslavia overthrew the Cvetković Government which joined the Tri-partite Pact in 1941; we remember how the passive and active resistance of the peoples of Europe hindered the German war machine during the years of occupation; we remember that it was the support of public opinion behind the Red Army which saved Stalingrad and the people of the Soviet Union. Public opinion in the allied countries the world over enabled us to win the war against Nazi and Japanese imperialism. Today, in my own country of Czechoslovakia, and in other countries of Europe, popular enthusiasm in support of a program of reconstruction is achieving remarkable and outstanding results.

The United Nations would be failing in one of its fundamental tasks if it did not seek to enroll within its ranks the enthusiasm of which people the world over have shown themselves capable in battle and in reconstruction. As long as the future of the United Nations is left in the hands of a few, however capable and however sincere, the opening words of the preamble to the Charter "We the peoples" will remain a myth.

THE League of Nations failed because in time of crisis it could not rely upon the support of the people of the world. Some governments were able to repudiate it with impunity. The United Nations, apart from starting off with the great advantage of the full backing of the two most powerful countries in the world—the United States and the Soviet Union—is an organization which, by its very Charter, goes further than the League of Nations did in building up the machinery for a united world

". . . there must be a peoples' movement for the United Nations."—Jan Masaryk.

—through the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on Women's Rights, and through its specialized agencies: the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, and such projects as UNESCO, ITO and PICAO. The work of the United Nations can tomorrow touch the lives of men, women and children all over the world if we do our duty.

It is the aim of the United Nations Associations to rally behind the United Nations all groups and classes of society—youth organizations, women's groups, church groups, the trade-union movement, the cooperative movement, business clubs, intellectual societies, and all those fields of voluntary activity which make up the pattern of modern life. Support of the United Nations is one thing on which all political parties, all religions and all races in all countries can agree. Through its organization, all social groups can seek to achieve the aims for which they are striving.

Now, when the United Nations is beginning its work, we must try to build up a concept of world citizenship which will lead the man in the street the world over to look to the United Nations to help him solve his problems.

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I AM confident that by cooperating together in the United Nations Organization and in a united peoples movement for the United Nations we can do much to remove many of the misgivings, suspicions and misunderstandings which are so prevalent today. There are many things about the Western Hemisphere which the people of Eastern Europe do not understand, and I find that many of the conceptions which the people of America have about Europe, from Calais to Moscow, are based on ignorance rather than ill will. That is why I feel that United Nations Associations all over the world must devote their attention not only to lectures, articles and discussions on the United Nations but also to spreading information about the different countries which comprise it. Through travel and personal contact we can remove many misunderstandings and unnecessary tensions which still exist between nations whose interests should bind them together and not keep them apart through reciprocal suspicion.

It is in this confidence in the role of public opinion in the modern world of cinema, radio and air-mail newspapers that I am devoting my energies to the work of the World Federation of United Nations Associations. As Assistant Secretary-General Henri Laugier told the first Congress of our Federation in Luxembourg "These United Nations Associations are not a luxury. They are an essential part of the United Nations and their success is essential for the success of the United Nations."

YOUTH INTERRUPTED

by PAUL GUTH

A French educator, contributor to daily and periodical journals, and winner of the 1946 Prix du Théâtre, writes graphically of the broken lives of French youths—and of all youth.

IN 1936 I was a teacher of the third grade at the Lycee of Rouen. France, which had been weakened by World War I, was enjoying great prosperity, but was feverish, haggard and flushed. The next war was already being talked about. But out of one hundred Frenchmen, ninety would have said that at heart they did not believe war would come—that it would be too horrible, and that at the last moment no one would dare to take the plunge.

In this unstable state of well-being, I said to my students: "I will meet you again in ten years, on the 16th of July, 1946, in this very room in the Lycee Corneille of Rouen." These youngsters were thirteen or fourteen years old. The proposed meeting, even though far off, seemed as natural to them as the fact that there would be food on the table at every meal, and green leaves on the trees every spring.

During the intervening years the world almost went under. A new era has begun. The changes between 1914-1936 were dwarfed by those of the new era which began in 1936.

AS scheduled, we held our meeting at the Lycee of Rouen on July 16, 1946. The children of ten years ago were now twenty-four years old. A third of their city had been razed. From the Cathedral to the Seine—the place where the many-facetted houses crowded upon each other in teeming quarters as in the fantastic cities of Breughel—there was only a desert.

Following the habit of their childhood, my pupils again took their places at their old desks. As of old they slipped their knees under the desks and leaned on their elbows. They spoke as if they had crossed the ruins of the intervening years on a flying carpet. I found a delegation of the frustrated youth of France, and the explanation of its drama.

D_____ had been torn from his medical studies and sent to Germany for slave labor.

L_____, who was about to enter the *Ecole Polytechnique* in 1943, had been drafted, too, by the *Service du Travail Obligatoire,* and forced to spend two years in the center of Germany, in Thuringia. At twenty-four, he was only in his first year at the *Ecole.*

S_____, after his baccalaureat, had studied at the Lycee Henry IV, preparing for the *Ecole Normale Superieure* at Paris. Having failed, he had returned to Rouen to get his license at the

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Ecole Superieure des Lettres et Sciences. In 1943, in order to escape deportation, he took a job as a laborer on the railroad of Rouen. He had left Homer for the shovel and the anti-German sabotage of the *"Resistance-Fer."* Now without a job, he has requested a position as tutor at the Lycee of Rouen, to enable him to continue his studies.

F_____ had been able to pursue his medical studies until the fifth year. He was now an interne at one of the hospitals of Rouen, but his home on the Boulevard de la Marne had been destroyed during a bombardment, and almost all its inhabitants killed. He himself had escaped death by sheer luck, and his health has remained seriously undermined ever since.

L_____ had seen his studies for a degree in history and geography interrupted by forced deportation to Germany.

S_____ had abandoned his law studies, and had ("disguised") himself as a carpenter.

Sau_____had to quit his *Ecole Speciale de Mecanique et d'Electricité* in 1943. He escaped through Spain to Casablanca where he joined the forces of General de Gaulle and went to England. He was assigned to an aviation squadron which was bombing Germany.

Le_____, a student at the *Ecole Polytechnique* in 1943, had withdrawn in order not to be drafted into Petain's "army of the armistice." He had given up his studies and jeopardized his career. After the liberation he had to retrace his steps, begin all over again and aim for a degree in mathematics. He was now seeking a tutor's position.

B_____ just graduated from the *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* of Rouen, worked in the Resistance until denounced to the Germans. He hid with the Maquis, and then participated in the campaigns of France, Alsace and Germany. He was not discharged until six months ago and still has no position.

Lec_____ had worked for a while on newspapers. In 1942, because of an article of rather lively tone, he was arrested for insult of Marshal Petain, Chief of State. Condemned to six months internment, he escaped, joined the Maquis and helped distribute arms parachuted by the Allies. He is still in the service with the rank of lieutenant, awaiting his discharge to resume his profession of journalism.

THE faces of all still bore the traces of fatigue, the anguish of their hunted youth, their present disillusionment. They felt handicapped in a world still groggy from the war, to which they had returned too old—having lost many precious years and already wounded by life. The courage they displayed in the war did not seem to them a foundation strong enough to build upon in a peace so ill-assured. All around them, their battered city seemed the very image of their destiny. Their cradle, a city of broken stones, their cathedral shattered, all that past which used to be at the roots of their desire to live seemed to be absent now when they most needed its succor.

Such is the sad condition of young people today whose lives have been so cruelly interrupted, who crave security and are denied it and who hesitate on the threshhold of the future which seems more alarming to them than the perils of the past which their courage led them to face so eagerly.

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YUHOKO and the STATE

by FREDERICK J. LIPP

More than a year, now, we have been in Japan as the paramount occupying power. What have we done to extirpate the reactionary militaristic forces and free the democratic forces of Japan? What have we done to make Yuhoko and her government one?

The author, now on the staff of the National Broadcasting Company, was formerly a U. S. Navy correspondent in Tokyo.

AS I remember Yuhoko now, it is as a child who has known too much of hunger and B-29's for her thirteen years. A quiet girl with wide eyes and hair to her shoulders who would meet me at the station when I came to visit her father, and sometimes go with us on long tramps through the Kamakura countryside. I remember her wonder at the food I brought—ordinary canned foods common on every American table. And the way she would eat, slowly, in tiny morsels, so that she might enjoy it as much as possible. I remember the threadbare clothing she wore in November, the frail bones of her body that stood out sharply against it. And I remember how so often she would wrap herself in my field jacket and hug it to herself in cozy warmth the way a child does. I remember the way she wanted things, the way she would turn the pages of a stateside magazine, quietly looking at the pictures of American homes, children, toys, food and the sudden dark shadows of longing that came into her eyes.

At the same time I recall the sessions of the first post-war Diet. The Shidehara government was conservative. It was composed largely of the same men who had studiously backed the war effort and whose sole interest lay in retaining as much of their old power as possible. From the press gallery in both houses I watched the spectacle of a small group of men, removed from the mass of people, bound to them by few ties, many of whom were diametrically opposed to mass interests but affecting to legislate on behalf of those interests. It was a governing body without roots, without political reality. It was the brittle "democratic" facade of Japan which hid the frustrated, inarticulate masses behind it.

Here was Yuhoko. And here, on the other hand, was her government. There was no relation between the two. And until there was, until her bodily and spiritual needs, her daily hunger and coldness could be made articulate by a representative people's government, until they could be translated into effective legislation there would be no hope for Yuhoko, and the seventy-four million people she is a part of.

THIS was the status of Japan when the Allied powers took over control in September 1945. Under the announced terms of the Potsdam Declaration their goal was to create a broadly representative government within the state, to establish a unity between the demands of the people and their ultimate political expression.

Through a series of Allied directives, implemented by the Japanese government: (1) Freedom of thought and expression were extended and guaranteed to a people who had lived in a totalitarian vacuum for over three-quarters of a century. (2) State Shinto was abolished; freedom of worship became the right of every Japanese citizen. (3) Freedom of press, radio and motion pictures was established within the limits of Allied censorship. (4) The Kempei-tei, or thought police, which had served the government as an instrument for controlling the population, were considerably weakened. (5) Some inroads were made toward achieving a more democratic base in education. (6) Universal suffrage was introduced and women began to take their rightful place in politics. (7) Labor, hitherto subject to government domination and outright suppression, was at last free to organize. (8) A new constitution—the product largely of GHQ—was drawn up, renouncing war, relegating the emperor to the position of a figurehead, and proclaiming the final sovereignty of the people.

Theoretically—on paper—this revolution by directive was a remarkable piece of political engineering. Ideologically, it placed the Japanese people on a par with the so-called democratic nations of the world. Yuhoko would now be able to grow up in a world of ideas which had previously been denied her. She

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would possess the same basic freedoms a high-school girl in America or Britain possessed. Theoretically she would one day be able to vote for her representatives in the Diet and, through them, express her needs and desires. From the standpoint of ideas alone, the revolution by directive extended to the people more genuine democracy in one year than they had gained in the entire course of their history. In reality, it fell short of its aims for a number of reasons.

SOME were unavoidable. The people were politically immature. The psychological trauma of defeat, a disorganized national economy, the hunger and devastation resulting from the war made it difficult for them to appreciate the value of their newly-found gains. Far more important was the fact that the revolution was a movement from the top down, from the Allied authorities through the Japanese government to the people. It had no roots, no basis in the mass will and consciousness. It lacked the strong spontaneous upsurge that has always been the core of democratic societies in other states. Moreover, the policy of enforcing our directives through the existing government—and the emperor—was disillusioning to the mind of the average Japanese. Told how he had been misled by the military and bureaucracy, he looked to his Diet and saw there the same reactionary elements, functioning this time under Allied supervision.

The gains of the occupation looked good on paper. But in the realm of bread and rice, in the vital problems of food distribution, agricultural reform, unemployment, little was accomplished beyond well-drawn-up plans for solution. Despite these factors, however, the first six months of the occupation warranted an optimistic view for the future. It is since the April elections that a pronounced shift in policy has occurred which is proving ominous, both for the people of Japan and for the world at large.

This change of attitude seems to be, largely, the result of over-all conflict between U. S. and Soviet foreign policy aims since V-J Day. Tensions in Europe, the Near East, China and Korea have produced corresponding strains in Japan. The Allied Council for Japan has been less an instrument for harmonious control of the nation than a sounding board for mutual grievances and distrust. Our assertion of the right to hold the key position on the Council has been bitterly resented by the other nations, particularly by Russia. And this, together with the pronounced conservative trend of occupation policy, has given rise to the accusation that U. S. policy in Japan is once again geared to a program of doing business with the old-line conservatives—in order to maintain Japan as a potential buffer against Soviet influence in the Far East. This accusation, the most serious that has yet been leveled at U. S. control in Japan, is important enough to warrant an examination of the elements which have given rise to it.

IT is to be remembered that, in the two decades before Pearl Harbor, the genuinely anti-militarist and democratic forces in Japan were represented largely by labor, the agrarian unions, the Japanese Communist Party, and a surprisingly large group of intellectuals and students. These elements were systematically and ruthlessly suppressed by the government. They were tortured, driven underground, forced into exile. But the program they worked for, the documented record of their resistance automatically placed them among the few elements in Japan we could trust to work with us when the occupation began. During the first six months of administration it appeared we were, to a certain extent, following this course. Political prisoners were freed. Labor was encouraged. Minority political groups of democratic caliber were given a free hand. The Communist Party, more closely allied to the democratic ideals of Yenan than to Moscow, soon took the initiative along with left-wing Socialists in urging a popular front among the other political parties before the election.

Against this group stood the organized coalition of the military, the zaibatsu, and the old-line conservative bureaucrats—the same fascist machine which was responsible for the war. We, as the administrating power, were free to utilize whichever group seemed most likely to aid us in our intentions of democratizing Japan. And during the first six months of the occupation our policy appeared to follow an unbiased course. While we worked through the Shidehara government, conservative in nature, we encouraged labor, agrarian reform and the leftist groups, democratic in nature.

SINCE then, however, as U. S.-Soviet clashes have grown more frequent, a distinct shift to the right has taken place in our policy. The April elections, hardly representative, returned a Diet largely conservative in nature. After weeks of political maneuvering during which the Social-Democratic and Communist parties lost their chance to form a coalition govern-

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ment through internal disunity and bickering, the old-line conservatives finally united under the premiership of Shigeru Yoshida. Bearing in mind the fact that Yoshida and the government he formed were, and are now, underwritten by GHQ, an examination of his background becomes unpleasantly revealing. Since 1928, when he served as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs under the notorious Baron Tanaka, he has been consistently associated with Japan's drive for empire. He is described by associates as one who "abhors close contact with the common man." He stands on record as an outspoken champion of the zaibatsu which we are avowedly commited to destroy.

Upon his acceptance of the premiership, demonstrations by labor and leftist groups broke out in Tokyo. On May 20th General MacArthur issued a warning to disorderly minorities to halt mass demonstrations on the ground that they might lead to violence. On June 13th – obviously following MacArthur's lead—the Japanese government outlawed mass demonstrations which "tend to jeopardize the social order"—a move which, in effect, deprived labor and the leftists of the only effective weapon they had against repression by the government. Yet these same laborites and leftists, these same "disorderly minorities" for two solid decades fought for the very goals which the U. S. was supposedly trying to establish by directive.

In June, the master blue-print, drawn up by Prof. Corwin Edwards of Northwestern University, for wiping out the Japanese trusts was rejected in a memorandum from MacArthur. Behind the rejection lay the shift to right in occupation policy.

Although one month later the directive announcing the dissolution of the trusts was made public, it should be noted that the trusts themselves prepared their own plans for self-liquidation. While these were examined and approved by MacArthur, qualified observers feel that the basic tendency to "go easy" on the trusts still prevails, that the terms for dissolution can be easily circumvented, and that a government whose members are actively associated with and sympathetic to the zaibatsu can be counted on not to implement the directive too harshly.

MOST seriously affected by the conservative shift in occupation policy has been the growing Japanese labor movement. Under the original terms of the directive, unionization was to be encouraged and stimulated. As a result the prewar total of 970 unions with a membership of 420,000 members rose to a present-day figure of 7,300 unions with a membership of 2,700,000. Unfortunately, their surprising strength, their militant championing of democratic reforms, and their entrance into the field of political action considerably embarrassed both the reactionary Yoshida government and GHQ who stood behind it. The expected happened: GHQ began to intervene directly in labor issues.

Here is Yuhoko. "The tragedy of Japan today is once again the tragedy of Yuhoko and her government."

In the important *Yomiuri-Hochi* newspaper strike, American intervention on behalf of

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conservative interests behind the newspaper broke the strike and, at the same time, changed the editorial policy of a newspaper which had criticized the emperor, the Shidehara and Yoshida governments, and had supported the democratic front. Shortly afterward a dignified and courteous letter of protest was sent to General MacArthur, signed by a number of unions. It concluded: ". . . we have been deprived of the right to strike, hold public meetings and carry on demonstration campaigns. Moreover, the name of GHQ has always been used and, consequently, we cannot help but feel that GHQ is supporting suppression of these movements. We ask General MacArthur: What method should the workers of Japan use in order to protect their democratic rights for their own existence?"

There was no reply to the petition except, perhaps, MacArthur's order on August 29th that "strikes, walkouts or other work stoppages which are inimical to the objectives of military occupation are prohibited." The latitude of this order is so wide that the suppression of any future strike may be justified under its terms. The relationship between GHQ and the Yoshida government being what it is, qualified observers believe that the order will be invoked not infrequently.

ON August 28th, the new Japanese constitution was formally adopted. This document was the baby of Headquarters, a reasonably democratic charter which, after months of wrangling, was eventually imposed upon a reluctant Japanese government. However, instead of being first submitted to the people for discussion and then to a representative assembly for adoption, it was placed before an ultra-conservative Diet for passage. Although under the articles of the constitution sovereignty was vested in the people, the people had no chance to pass upon their own charter. To many observers, the entire action seemed to reveal the fear of popular forces and the growing support of ultra-conservative factions which has characterized all of the recent moves of U. S. occupation policy. Critics of the document point out that, despite its basic democratic nature, the figurehead position of the emperor could easily be used at some future date as a potential nucleous for the rebuilding of a fascist state.

From the time of the elections this shift in occupation policy from middle to right has been growing more pronounced. Our neglect of the few, but genuinely democratic elements is forcing them to look to Russia for support. We seem to be isolating those friends we could count on over a long period of time and supporting, instead, the reactionary elements whose concept of government is diametrically opposed to our own. Nor are the reactionaries unaware of their constantly growing power. Conscious of the American attitude toward Communism, basically opposed to Communism themselves —and to all leftist movements which threaten their security—they constantly use U. S.-Soviet friction to further intrench themselves in power.

Another factor indicative of the trend of occupation, is the tacit acceptance of the thesis by many high-ranking staff officers, that U. S. policy in Japan is geared to rebuilding the nation as a military bastion against Soviet Russia. Robert Peel, in the *Christian Science Monitor,* reports a brilliant young officer at GHQ to have said: "It is only realism to keep in power in Japan the men who can convert her quickly into a military ally—and our present occupation policy doesn't make sense on any other grounds."

THE tragedy of Japan today is once again the tragedy of Yuhoko and her government. In the past there was no relation between the two. There is no relation today—despite the idealistic professions of our revolution by directive. The same reactionary elements of government that dominated her life—and the life of the nation—in the past, are once again in power. Moreover, they are supported and endorsed by the occupation government whose announced goal a year ago was to liberate the people and to extend to them a broad democratic base of government.

A year of occupation has ended. And perhaps the most honest evaluation of it is in the recent statement of George Atcheson, Jr.—American member of the Allied Council for Japan—that "Japanese aims have become virtually identical with American aims" . . . A statement whose cynical and tragic overtones express the defeat of Japan's democratic forces and the re-intrenchment in power of the very elements we fought to destroy through four bloody years of Pacific warfare.

As for Yuhoko, I can only hope that the bewilderment I often saw in her eyes will be replaced some day by an assurance that she lives in a world, at least theoretically, of her own making. Perhaps this assurance, slight as it is, may give her and the Japanese people the necessary strength to assert their power and make their will—in reality, not concept—the life and structure of their state.

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UNESCO: ITS PURPOSE and PHILOSOPHY

by JULIAN S. HUXLEY

Dr. Huxley, world famous biologist and scientific scholar, was Executive Secretary of the UNESCO Preparatory Commission and is acting in the same capacity at the first UNESCO General Conference, now meeting in Paris.

The Aims of UNESCO

UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—is by its title committed to two sets of aims. In the first place, it is international, and must serve the ends and objects of the United Nations, which in the long perspective are world ends, ends for humanity as a whole. And secondly it must foster and promote all aspects of education, science, and culture, in the widest sense of those words.

Its Constitution defines these aims more fully. The preamble begins with Mr. Attlee's noble words—"since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed"; it continues by stressing the dangers of ignorance—"ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war"; and then proceeds to point out that the late war was made possible by the denial of certain basic principles—"the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men"—and by the substitution for them of "the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."

From these premises it proceeds to point out that "the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace, are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern"; and draws the notable conclusion, never before embodied in an official document, that a peace "based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments" would be inadequate, since it could not "secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world," and that "the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

A Philosophy for UNESCO

BUT in order to carry out its work, an organization such as UNESCO needs not only a set of general aims and objects for itself, but also a working philosophy, a working hypothesis concerning human existence and *its* aims and objects, which will dictate, or at least indicate, a definite line of approach to its problems. Without such a general outlook and single angle of approach, UNESCO will be in danger of undertaking piecemeal and even self-contradictory actions, and will in any case lack the guidance and inspiration which spring from a belief in a body of general principles.

From acceptance of certain principles or philosophies, UNESCO is obviously debarred. Thus it cannot base its outlook on one of the competing religions of the world as against the others, whether Islam, Roman Catholicism, Protestant Christianity, Buddhism, Unitarianism, Judaism, or Hinduism. Neither can it espouse one of the politico-economic doctrines competing in the world today to the exclusion of the others—the present versions of capitalistic free enterprise, Marxian communism, semi-socialist planning, and so on.

FOR somewhat similar reasons it cannot base itself exclusively on any essentially sectarian philosophy or restricted outlook. Nor, with its stress on democracy and the principles of human dignity, equality and mutual respect, can it adopt the view that the State is a higher or more important end than the individual; or any rigid class theory of society. And in the preamble to its Constitution it expressly repudiates racialism and any belief in superior or inferior "races," nations, or ethnic groups.

Now for the positive side. UNESCO's main

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concern is with peace and security and with human welfare, in so far as they can be subserved by the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world. Accordingly its outlook must, it seems, be based on some form of humanism. Further, that humanism must clearly be a world humanism, both in the sense of seeking to bring in all the peoples of the world, and of treating all peoples and all individuals within each people as equals in terms of human dignity, mutual respect, and educational opportunity. It must also be a scientific humanism, in the sense that the application of science provides most of the material basis for human culture, and also that the practice and the understanding of science need to be integrated with that of other human activities.

It cannot, however, be materialistic, but must embrace the spiritual and mental as well as the material aspects of existence, and must attempt to do so on a truly monistic, unitary philosophic basis.

Finally it must be an evolutionary as opposed to a static or ideal humanism. It is essential for UNESCO to adopt an evolutionary approach. If it does not do so, its philosophy will be a false one, its humanism at best partial, at worst misleading.

Thus the general philosophy of UNESCO should, it seems, be a scientific world humanism, global in extent and evolutionary in background. What are the further implications, practical as well as theoretical, of such an outlook?

UNESCO and Human Progress

OUR first task must be to clarify the notion of desirable and undesirable directions of evolution, for on this will depend our attitude to human progress—to the possibility of progress in the first place, and then to its definition.

Evolution in the broad sense denotes all the historical processes of change and development at work in the universe. It is divisible into three very different sectors—the inorganic or lifeless, the organic or biological, and the social or human. The inorganic sector is by far the greatest in extent, comprising the overwhelming bulk of the cosmos, both of interstellar space and of the material aggregates we call stars.

The biological sector is very much limited in extent, being confined to the outer surface of the single small planet Earth, and perhaps to a few similar very rare situations in the universe.

Finally there is the human sector. This is still further restricted in extent, being confined to the single species, man.

Of special importance in man's evaluation of his own position in the cosmic scheme and of his further destiny is the fact that he is the heir, and indeed the sole heir, of evolutionary progress to date. When he asserts that he is the highest type of organism, he is not being guilty of anthropocentric vanity, but is enunciating a biological fact. Furthermore, he is not merely the sole heir of past evolutionary progress, but the sole trustee for any that may be achieved in the future. From the evolutionary point of view, the destiny of man may be summed up very simply: it is to realize the maximum progress in the minimum time. That is why the philosophy of UNESCO must have an evolutionary background, and why the concept of progress cannot but occupy a central position in that philosophy.

The analysis of evolutionary progress gives us certain criteria for judging the rightness or wrongness of our aims and activities, and the desirability or otherwise of the tendencies to be noted in contemporary history—tendencies of which UNESCO must take account.

IN general, UNESCO must constantly be testing its policies against the touchstone of evolutionary progress. A central conflict of our times is that between nationalism and internationalism, between the concept of many national sovereignties and one world sovereignty. Here the evolutionary touchstone gives an unequivocal answer. The key to man's advance, the distinctive method which has made evolutionary progress in the human sector so much more rapid than in the biological and has given it higher and more satisfying goals, is the fact of cumulative tradition, the existence of a common pool of ideas which is self-perpetuating and itself capable of evolving. And this fact has had the immediate consequence of making types of social organization the main factor in human progress or at least its limiting framework.

Two obvious corollaries follow. First, that the more united man's tradition becomes, the more rapid will be the possibility of progress: several separate or competing or even mutually hostile pools of tradition cannot possibly be so efficient as a single pool common to all mankind. And secondly, that the best and only certain way of securing this will be through political unification. As history shows, unifying ideas *can* exert an effect across national boundaries. But, as history makes equally evident, that effect is a partial one and never

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wholly affects the opportunities for conflict provided by the existence of separate sovereign political units.

The moral for UNESCO is clear. Its task of promoting peace and security can never be wholly realized through the means assigned to it—education, science and culture. It must envisage some form of world political unity, whether through a single world government or otherwise, as the only certain means for avoiding war. However, world political unity is, unfortunately, a remote ideal, and in any case does not fall within the field of UNESCO's competence. This does not mean that UNESCO cannot do a great deal toward promoting peace and security. Specifically, in its educational program, it can stress the ultimate need for world political unity and familiarize all peoples with the implications of the transfer of full sovereignty from separate nations to a world organization. But, more generally, it can do a great deal to lay the foundations on which world political unity can later be built. It can help the peoples of the world to mutual understanding and to a realization of the common humanity and common tasks which they share, as opposed to the separate nationalisms which tend to isolate them.

It can promote enterprises which, by being fully international, demonstrate that nationality and nationalism can be transcended in shared activity. Examples of such enterprises are the UNESCO center of applied mathematics proposed by the Natural Science Section; the International Reconstruction Camp, proposed by the Education Section as a contribution to reconstruction; the activities centered round the World Bibliographical and Library Centre and the International Clearing House for Publications, proposed by the Cultural Institutions Section; the International Home and Community Planning Institute envisaged by the Social Science Section; the International Theatre Institute proposed by the Section of Creative Arts; and the work focused on the production of internationally-conceived films and radio programs envisaged by the Mass Media Section.

UNESCO also can and should promote the growth of international contacts, international organizations, and actual international achievements, which will offer increasing resistance to the forces making for division and conflict. In particular, it can both on its own account and in close relation with other UN agencies such as the FAO and the International Health Organization, promote the international application of science to human welfare.

As the benefits of such world-scale collaboration become plain (which will speedily be the case in relation to the food and health of mankind) it will become increasingly more difficult for any nation to destroy them by resorting to isolationism or to war.

In the specific cases of atomic fission, bacteriology and microbiology, UNESCO can do a great deal by large-scale campaigns of public education designed to throw into contrast the disastrous effects of using our knowledge for new warlike purposes, in the shape of atom bombs and the still greater horrors of "biological warfare," and the wonderful opportunities that open out if we use it for increasing human welfare.

With all this UNESCO must face the fact that nationalism is still the basis of the political structure of the world, and must be prepared for the possibility that the forces of disruption and conflict may score a temporary victory. But even if this should occur, UNESCO must strain every nerve to give a demonstration of the benefits, spiritual as well as material, to be obtained through a common pool of tradition, and specifically by international cooperation in education, science and culture, so that even should another war break out the world will not forget.

Quality and Quantity

THERE is one other general implication of the fact of evolutionary progress, which UNESCO must take into account—the importance of quality as against quantity. Throughout evolution, progress has consisted in the raising of the upper level of certain properties of the "world stuff" of which we as well as the stars are made. And in the human sector, progress has been increasingly concerned with values – intellectual, aesthetic, emotional and moral. In the realm of values, quantity, whether of number, size or extension, is irrelevant to progress.

UNESCO must guard itself against the tendency, current in some quarters, of reducing everything to quantitative terms, as if a counting of heads were more important than what was going on inside them. This tendency to think only or mainly in terms of quantity is partly a reflection of our mass-production age, but partly due to the debasement or misconception of the principles of democracy, in rather the same way as militaristic nationalism has been founded on a misconception of Darwinian principles.

The Age of the Common Man: the Voice of

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the People: majority rule: the importance of a large population:—ideas and slogans such as these form the background of much of our thinking, and tend, unless we are careful, toward the promotion of mediocrity, even if mediocrity in abundance, and at the same time toward the discouragement of high and unusual quality.

Let UNESCO have a clear mind on this subject. *Quantity is of importance* – but as a means, a foundation for quality.

Meanwhile, UNESCO must devote itself not only to raising the general welfare of the common man, but also to raising the highest level attainable by man. This applies to the opportunities of experience and enjoyment generally available, to the quality of training provided and to the human material itself. Human progress consists partly in the raising of the average level within pre-existing limits of achievement and possibility, but also in raising the upper level of these limits and embarking man upon new possibilities.

The encouragement of variety, of genius, of quality in general, however incomprehensible to the multitude, must be one of the major aims of UNESCO.

The Principle of Equality and the Fact of Inequality

FINALLY we come to a difficult problem—that of discovering how we can reconcile our principle of human equality with the biological fact of human inequality. Perhaps the problem is not so difficult as it appears when stated in this paradoxical form; for the contradiction largely disappears as soon as it is realized that equality is used in two very different senses. The democratic principle of equality, which is also UNESCO's, is a principle of equality of opportunity – that human beings should be equal before the law, should have equal opportunities for education, for making a living, for freedom of expression and movement and worship. The biological absence of equality, on the other hand, concerns the natural endowments of man and the fact of genetic difference in regard to them.

At the outset, let is be clearly understood that we are here speaking only of biological inequality—inequality in genetic endowment. Social inequality, due to accident of birth or upbringing, is something wholly different.

It is therefore of the greatest importance to preserve human variety; all attempts at reducing it, whether by attempting to obtain greater "purity" and therefore uniformity within a so-called race or a national group, or by attempting to exterminate any of the broad racial groups which give our species its major variety, are scientifically incorrect and opposed to long-run human progress. On the contrary, UNESCO should aim at securing the fullest contribution to the common pool from racial groups which, owing to their remoteness or their backwardness have so far had little share in it.

THE fact of human difference has another implication for UNESCO. Every encouragement should be given to the study of distinct psycho-physical types. For one thing, it will be of great value in job selection, in picking those who are most likely to profit from a particular sort of training or are most suitable for a particular kind of work. Conversely, we shall then be enabled to lay down that certain types of men shall be debarred from holding certain types of positions.

The principle of equality of opportunity must be amended to read "equality of opportunity within the limits of aptitude." Thus, it is a fact, however disagreeable, that a considerable percentage of the population is not capable of profiting from higher education. It is equally a fact that a considerable percentage of young men have to be rejected for military service on grounds of physical weakness or mental instability, and that these grounds are often genetic in origin. Again, many people are not intelligent or not scrupulous enough to be entrusted with political responsibility—a fact which unfortunately does not prevent quite a number of them from attaining it.

To adjust the principle of democratic equality to the fact of biological inequality is a major task for the world, and one which will grow increasingly more urgent as we make progress toward realizing equality of opportunity. To promote this adjustment, a great deal of education of the general public will be needed as well as much new research; and in both these tasks UNESCO can and should co-operate.

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SCIENCE and WORLD CULTURE

by T. SWANN HARDING

The scientist and society have lived apart too long. Now, the scientist is awakening to the social meaning of the Aladdin's lamp he has created. And society, for its part, must understand the scientific method. For society has now to apply the jinn to its destruction, or turn them to its preservation.

The author, a frequent contributor to FREE WORLD *Magazine, is information specialist of the Department of Agriculture, editor of the Department's publication "USDA," and author of several books.*

DIFFICULT as it is for us to believe now, the pre-atomic bomb scientist was a timid, socially introverted creature who kept close to his knitting, talked a strange, esoteric language, refused to recognize the unity of science as a whole, and prided himself on his abstention from social, political and economic affairs. Today, when prominent scientists get into brawls with legislators, and lecture the public avidly and vividly on the relationship between atomic fission and world affairs, their former abnegation indeed seems hard to credit.

Yet, in those leisurely old days before the bomb, the scientist had the most important things in the world to say and the least ability to say them in such manner as to be understood. Even then he foretold the destructive potentialities of the powers he was unloosing; we simply did not understand what he said, or on the rare occasions when we did understand, we lost the significance. For we had come traditionally to regard scientists as long-haired impractical fellows unacquainted with world affairs, who disavowed the ominous fruits of their laboratory findings.

The chasm between science and international politics has always been extraordinarily wide. It is wider still today, as can easily be sensed by reading some of the dissertations made before the United Nations by curiously anachronistic statesmen. Perhaps the most conspicuous example of these is Molotov, with his early eighteenth century doctrinaire dogmatism and his stark reactionary views on almost everything. But many others run him a close second in speaking for a bygone, pre-Einsteinian, pre-atomic-fission-bomb era we intuitively know to have vanished.

FEW statesmen have yet grasped what science has done, or have attained a proper understanding of the modern scientific age. Spheres of influence, naval and air outposts, rings of friendly nations, are as outmoded as battleships and fortresses in the new era of earth-girdling planes, atom bombs, poisons to destroy crops, and biological warfare to spread epidemics, epozootics, and epiphytotics world-wide. The nine eminent scientists who met in November 1946, as the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists – Albert Einstein, presiding, and Harold C. Urey, vice-president–told only part of the story.

More and more destructive atomic bombs can now be made at much cheaper cost and in great number. Against them there is no military defense, and science can at present conceive none; hence preparedness against atomic war is futile. If attempted, it would ruin our social and economic order. Other nations can easily rediscover our secret processes. If war breaks out, these bombs will be used and civilization will be destroyed. There is no solution to this problem other than the elimination of war. That is today's scientific manifesto. What will the world do about it?

ONE of the basic reasons for the global war in which the world has been engaged since the turn of the century, and which is now being pursued by diplomatic means for awhile, is the failure of scientists effectively to communicate to one another, and to the general public, the knowledge they created. Just as egregious was their failure to face the social, economic, and political implications of their discoveries until the explosion of the atom-fission bomb

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suddenly created a stark new reality for us all to face timorously together.

The late Sir William Bragg was one of those who realized the dangers inherent in the research worker's inability and reluctance to communicate to the public what he was doing and how he did it. In an address before the Royal Society in the spring of 1939, he spoke on "The Unity of Knowledge." The proper appreciation and application of new discoveries, said he, was being hindered both by extreme specialization and by the deliberate manufacture and employment of a terminology intelligible to only a very few super-experts in any one subject. Prof. William Mansfield Clark of Johns Hopkins also commented even earlier that it had long been possible for two groups of scientists in different rooms at an annual meeting to discuss precisely the same subject matter in language so specialized that neither could understand the other.

Critical study and discussion of scientific papers is quite impossible in the present circumstances of their delivery. The public is finally acquainted with the end results in the terms of broad factual statements which make sense to laymen, but in the fabrication of which popularizers perhaps deliberately, more often unconsciously, or unintentionally, distort the actual findings, their limitations, and the way in which they were made.

Just today an intelligent layman was heard to say that the weather was practically under control now because scientists of the General Electric Co. had bombarded a three-mile-long cloud with pellets of frozen carbon dioxide from an airplane, and had thus produced a terrific snowstorm which covered the ground of a wide area. Actually no such thing had been done, as Irving Langmuir was careful to state. Moisture in the cloud had been turned into snow, but atmospheric aridity had evaporated or transpired the snow after it fell a few thousand feet, and none ever reached the ground.

SCIENCE is presented to the ordinary individual in such a way that a cross section of his beliefs might run:

Man descended from the monkey; the sun is made of radium; Mars is inhabited by a race of canal diggers; the ancient Mayas knew about relativity; the earth is getting hotter, or cooler, or will run into a comet, or the moon will fall into the earth; the average mental age of Americans is thirteen years; Nordics alone are progressive; man is losing his teeth and hair and soon be rid of both; the world will starve of over-population or its people will die off in race suicide; Germans or Japanese or Jews or Negroes are wholly different from human beings like us; sour milk or goat glands will rejuvenate you and prolong your life; there is no soul, or everybody has two or three souls; blood pressure is a disease; rheumatism comes from bad teeth; bad teeth occur because of poor diet, or not using a tooth brush.

The average person knows little or nothing about the scientist's actual deportment in the laboratory. He knows nothing of how scientific truths are established and evaluated, which scientific facts and hypotheses are most and which least probable—and they are all merely probable at best—and what the research worker actually does. Magazines, newspapers, radio, even the movies, deal generally with so-called ascertained facts and say little or nothing about scientific method.

What does the ordinary layman know about how scientific knowledge is ascertained, the peculiar characteristics of scientific method, the control of significant variables, the difficulty of applying scientific method, the differences between good and poor experiments, the critical evaluation of work in which significant variables perhaps could not be, certainly were not, controlled? The probability character and limitations of scientific knowledge are ignored, as well as the degree of refinement required before accurate predictions can be made.

AS to variables, consider an experiment performed on two groups of young pigs, ten in each group, and the groups just as nearly alike as it is possible to get them. One group is fed a well-known ration and one a test ration. Pigs on the latter grow faster than those on the former. The conclusion seems inevitable that the test ration is superior to the well-known one. But consider this: It is found that if two such groups of pigs are fed the same identical ration, and the experiment is carried on four or five years with different groups each year, one group will grow faster than the other by about the same amount as in the experiment just described. So what can we conclude?

Or suppose a scientist is studying bacterial wilt of corn. He may either observe what actually occurs in normally growing cornfields under natural conditions, or he may seek to control everything by running purely artificial experiments and inoculating his plants by hand or otherwise. In either case he is trying to test the natural resistance to wilt of certain corn plants. But, if he tests in the cornfield, he

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takes into account only the strains of bacteria that just happen then to be present locally to infect the corn. Moreover, there may or may not be a big epiphytotic of wilt that season, or early susceptible strains of corn may escape because the bacteria only become more virulent and numerous after they mature.

So the scientist decides on artificial inoculation under controlled green-house conditions. He can produce infection when he wishes, use such bacterial strains as he desires, and get all plants infected together. Escapes are avoided and the type and amount of inoculum are standardized; he can even use all known types of the casual bacteria and make the infection severe or mild as he wishes. But how about such factors as climate, soil, altitude, fertilizers, cultural methods? In short, how much will his carefully controlled laboratory results, true as they seem to be, mean under normal field conditions?

THEREFORE, throughout science, it is exceedingly difficult to tell the cause of anything or to prove conclusively that this procedure did that. Experiments utterly fool scientists much oftener than is thought, and the difficulties research workers face in controlling variables and ascertaining causes are tremendous. Naturally, the actualities of scientific procedure cannot easily be integrated into national and world culture, and this is rendered still more difficult by the fact that to this day the exact nature and operation of scientific method remain a mystery, even to more intelligent laymen.

The public does not realize the serious gaps in scientific knowledge and how urgently they need filling. It little realizes the tentative and ephemeral character of the established truth of today, which may be invalidated by some new experiment leading to a new hypothesis tomorrow. Local and community, as well as state, national, and world leaders neither understand nor grasp the fundamentals of the scientific approach to problems. Nor is this wholly their fault.

When he wrote "The Place of Science in Modern Civilization" for the March, 1906 *American Journal of Sociology,* Thorstein Veblen observed that the public generally distrusted the nature of the scientist and the beauty of his conclusions. As Veblen went on:

"This manner of knowledge (scientific) has occupied an increasing share of man's attention in the past, since it bears in a decisive way upon the minor affairs of workday life; but it has never until now been put in the first place, as the dominant note of human culture. The normal man, such as his inheritance has made him, has therefore good cause to be restive under its dominion." That was 1906.

Nearly a quarter of a century later, John Dewey (*New Republic,* March 19, 1930) quoted Veblen as emphasizing the strategic position engineers and technologists occupied in our society and asked: "Where is the school that pays attention to the potential social function of the engineering profession?"

SCIENTISTS and science are in inevitable conflict with the traditional social order. This conflict is largely masked where the state does not head up into reactionary dictatorship which can regulate science at will. But it is always there. The development of science and research is nevertheless subject to the cultural order, and unless it infiltrates that order, may find itself coldly outside. The methods and results of science are inimical to certain social and global values.

So long as he does not try diligently to direct the utilization of his discoveries, the scientist can easily become an object of reproach whenever the end results are disapproved by pressure groups, dictatorships, society, or the world as a whole. For science is skeptical and iconoclastic. It examines all institutions dispassionately, knows no sacred preserves, recognizes no cleavage between the traditionally revered and the newest truth, intrudes readily everywhere.

TODAY, as a result of research, it is possible to expand the size of the atom bomb until one can destroy any city on earth, making mass murder possible more inexpensively than ever before in the history of the world. Whereas an old-fashioned ten-ton block-buster would destroy brick buildings only up to 400 feet away, an atom bomb could now be made which would effect the same damage at 5,000 feet. Unfortunately it would take one a million times larger to destroy a city a hundred miles from where it fell; but give the scientists time and incentive and they will do something about that.

Radioactive products accounted for more deaths in Nagasaki and Hiroshima than did the explosion of the bombs anyway, and such products produced in one day's run of a 100,000-kilowatt chain-reacting pile could make a huge area uninhabitable. At the present cost of a million or two each, the atom-fission bomb offers the cheapest destructive force known to man. Science can at any time increase the

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efficacy of the means of mass murder, and the idealistic goal of exterminating the human race can be achieved. Is that what the world wants science to do?

By contrast, as D. Caradog Jones showed in *Nature* (London) for May 16, 1942, a fuller and more varied life for all is in the grasp of mankind, if it could only see that the world is one, and agree upon just sharing of the products of newer technologies. As S. de Madariga has said: "A nation, a limb of the world, misbehaves, i.e., it acts against the world community, which is the whole body. And sanctions are decided to punish it. But can we punish a limb without punishing the whole body?" We have hitherto lacked the appreciation which only scientific method can give us of the economic and technological aspects of world unity.

FORTUNATELY, scientists are waking up to this. We have had many manifestations of their shocked surprise at the use made of the knowledge they created. They have formed groups and associations to protest. Some of them have deserted their laboratories to devote themselves individually, in most dedicated manner, to telling the truth about what terrors a distorted method of using science can produce; lecturing, writing, and appearing continuously before committees in a manner quite unknown to the pre-atom-age research worker.

This is all to the good. Sir Henry H. Dale in his Pilgrim Trust Lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, in the fall of 1946, decried the tendency to harness science to national purposes which has persisted since the war. Russia has enslaved the German scientists and compelled them to work with her own for national ends; we have enforced secrecy on ours as well. None is without sin. Civilization is threatened unless science is freed from secrecy during peace. The objective of science ceases to be the pursuit of truth for its own sake and becomes preparation for another and yet more horrible war. Said Sir Henry:

"I hold it to be our right and our duty to unite in telling the world insistently that, if national policies fail to free science in peace from the secrecy which it accepted as a necessity of war, they will poison its very spirit; that those men whom the world can least afford to spare from the service of science, the men with the vision and the inspiration that can survive only in freedom, will be diverted from the lines of research in which their genius would most naturally find its fruition; that science will languish, and that all the fair promise which it offers of a harvest of human prosperity, culture, and happiness will be blighted and withered."

ON the credit side we fortunately have the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris at this time. The Organization's purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture. It seeks not to promote education, culture, and science of themselves, but through these to advance the peace of the world. [*See article on UNESCO in this issue.*]

If annual military expenditures of thirteen billion dollars for the defense of our people are justified, the far, far smaller budget of this beneficial organization is much more fully warranted.

A word should also be said for the Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, which published a report on its activities on June 30, 1946. The Committee's sphere is the Western Hemisphere. It was established eight years ago at the instance of President Roosevelt to undertake a permanent, cooperative program of economic, cultural, and scientific relations with the American republics. Its aim is to carry out the objective the late President Roosevelt formulated: cultivation of the science of human relationships.

WE may well consider here Roosevelt's own words: "Today science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another. Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to profit, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together, to work together in the same world, at peace."

Science, if properly understood and utilized, can show the way to fulfillment as well as to destruction. Unfortunately, our crusading scientists, while anxious to educate the public about the dangers of the next phase of the Global War, still fight shy of influencing governmental policy directly. But the people as a whole must influence their governments to control atomic energy, renounce national sovereignty, and abolish war, if the human race is to be preserved and human civilization permitted to achieve its potentialities.

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A LATIN AMERICAN BLOC?

by **LISANDRO MONTES**

A South American diplomat writes under a pseudonym on the effort of Argentina to form a Latin-American bloc within the UN, and on its frustration.

DR. JOSE ARCE, the head of the Argentine delegation to the United Nations, is not only a famous surgeon but also a very able politician. He is a member of the old guard which governed Argentina before the triumph of the Radical Party in 1916. He was also a stout member of the Conservative Party, which he represented as a national deputy, until he became converted to the policies of Peron.

His favorite pupil in the University was another surgeon well known in the wealthy circles of Buenos Aires, Dr. Oscar Ivanissevich. The friendship between these two became so strong that when Dr. Arce suddenly announced his conversion to the party of General Peron, his young pupil lost no time in following him. Now, Dr. Ivanissevich is the Ambassador of Argentina in Washington. Here, he is trying hard to earn the forgiveness of his new "Peronist" comrades for his former close ties with the Conservative Party, whose presidential ticket he openly supported in 1942.

The background of this pair of flourishing Argentine diplomats explains clearly some of their recent activities in the field of inter-American and world politics. It serves to clarify the motives which induce them to work intensely for the formation of a Latin American bloc in the United Nations.

THE basic idea of the formation of a Latin American bloc is not new. With some luck and efficiency, this bloc functioned in the old League of Nations at Geneva. It worked solidly at San Francisco to obtain the admission of Argentina to the United Nations. Up until then, that country had been in a somewhat judicious quarantine.

There are, indeed, many historical and political reasons which do favor such a union of the Latin American countries. The whole history of Pan-Americanism is an attempt to convince the Latin American peoples of their need to stand united in defense of the ideals and interests of the American hemisphere. Within this conception, the only variant has been the relations of Latin America with the United States.

When Pan-Americanism began, the small countries of the south were afraid of domination by the gigantic brother of the north. President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy dissipated a great part of this mistrust. It proved that Pan-American unity could be good or bad, depending upon who was in the White House, and according to the ideals and program of this continental union.

The initiative of Dr. Arce in trying to reconstruct a Latin American bloc in the present state of international affairs has to be judged, similarly, by its intentions and objectives. Fundamentally, the project cannot displease the rest of the Latin American nations already accustomed to that kind of calls to unity. But the solid resistance it is encountering is due to the opposition of many South American countries to the program that the government of General Peron is trying to set up as a basis for this continental bloc.

IN conversations which I have had with many of the UN delegates from South America, I find that the coolness with which they have received the Argentinian proposal is due to various reasons. But for one reason or another, they are all reticent about accepting the persistent invitation of Dr. Arce.

Some delegates maintain that, although most of the Latin American countries are well disposed to forget the past record of the present Argentine government, they do not believe that that country is yet in a position to become a leader of a movement inside the United Nations. Above all, they feel that Argentina lacks the moral authority for it.

Other delegates are more categorical. They recall the principles that General Peron publicly advocated when he was not yet President, although already the head of the revolutionary movement of 1943 and trying to organize a Latin American bloc openly hostile to the ideals

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for which the United Nations were then fighting. Some may consider that General Peron now admits that his doctrines of the past were wrong to such a point that he denies ever having preached them. Nevertheless, it appears premature to put faith in such versatile policies. In diplomacy, time is a very important element, and the colleagues of Dr. Arce prefer to wait before they give credit to his words.

With a view to the dangers of the morrow, the maneuvers of the Argentine delegation in the General Assembly of the UN are being followed with great attention. So far, these maneuvers have not contributed toward alleviating fears. On the contrary, they have confirmed them. The animated defense of the Franco regime in the presentation speech of Dr. Arce to the Assembly; the insistent Argentine efforts to obtain a seat on the Economic and Social Council; and, above all, the persistent convocation by Argentina of "bloc" meetings which suggest a prearranged policy of urgency —these are all maneuvers which have not helped to cement sympathetic relations with the Argentine delegate. As another delegate put it, making allusion to the medical experience of Dr. Arce, "It is not practical to apply surgical violence to the sensitive diplomatic corps."

THE fundamental reason for disagreement with the Argentine proposal is the fear that a Latin American bloc might be used to undermine rather than strengthen the unity of the world. The proposal is not one simply of defending the rights of the small countries, but one of acting as a fundamental "Hispano-American" community with a racial and ideological character as described by Dr. Arce in his speech to the Assembly. Its similarity with the reactionary conceptions of Hispanidad and Christianity, which have been the pattern of the Spanish Falangist doctrine, was pointed out at once.

The unity of the Latin American delegates cannot be built upon this basis. The conception of a racial and lingual community is always received sympathetically by the people of Spanish origin in our hemisphere. But it becomes ineffectual on occasions when international policies are discussed on more concrete and practical bases. Also, two countries like Mexico and Argentina may speak the same language and practice the same religion, but their respective governments and the international policies which they have followed are, and have been, very different. The same can be said of other Latin American governments. It is obvious, for example, that the governments of Venezuela, Mexico, Uruguay and Chile do not share the friendship and affection that the government of Argentina has for General Franco and his regime.

We have mentioned Chile. The declarations and resolutions of the new government of the left, headed by Dr. Gabriel Gonzales Videla, in the international field are very simple and clear: (1) decisive support of any measure tending to terminate the Franco regime; (2) opposition to the attempt to revise the veto provision or any other measure which might menace the unity and responsibility of the "Big Five"; (3) coolness toward the project of a military alliance within the hemisphere.

In these three points are condensed the immediate policy of the Chilean government, according to the recent declarations of the President and Minister of Foreign Relations of that country. This means that the greatest opposition to the Argentine position will come from the small countries on the other side of the Andes. Here are two doctrines totally opposed. One aims at the formation of a conservative bloc, pro-Spanish, directed toward a revision of the political structure of the United Nations, returning to the scheme of the old League of Geneva. The other accepts the realities of the present and hopes that the United Nations will liquidate the dangerous remnants of Fascism in the community of all peace loving democratic nations.

ONE cannot deny that the Argentine position reflects a considerable body of opinion in Latin America. But Chile can become the leader of the contrary opinion; perhaps the leader that was lacking in the liberal and anti-Fascist sector of the so-called Latin American bloc. This fundamental division, in which Chile will find many decisive allies, will suffice to destroy all hopes for the formation of a Latin American bloc so cherished by Dr. Arce.

An acute observer of Latin America told me not long ago: "Hispano-America is no more the idyllic and sentimental family of the past, congregated around its traditions and memories. Actually, it is divided by the same disagreements and ideals which divide the rest of the world. We shall see its countries on both sides of the ideological barricade, according to the political parties and doctrines which dominate the internal situation of each one of them."

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COOPERATIVES, GOVERNMENTS and WORLD TRADE

by **MURRAY D. LINCOLN**

President, Cooperative League of U. S. A.

CONCERTED action by people as consumers in their own interests offers so many possibilities that it may safely be said no one has yet done half a job of exploring them. Every now and then a cooperative does something new and startling that turns out to have been implicit but unsuspected in cooperative principles. If businessmen have trouble understanding how distribution and production can be carried on without profits, so, often, do the bitterest critics of business; and it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that cooperatives are equally misunderstood by Left and by Right.

We American cooperators frequently look to the Swedish cooperative movement for edification and even amusement. The Swedes have a way of using their co-ops with drama and humor, to illustrate the paradoxes involved in production for profit.

For example, when it was decided to go into the manufacture of electric light bulbs, the lamp trust approached the cooperators with warnings of price war. "We will cut prices to the bone," they said. "We will throw all our resources into your destruction." "Nothing will please us better," the cooperators replied; "we are building this co-op lamp factory to bring prices down. We don't care what you do: you can give light bulbs away, you can put gold pieces in them. If our factory keeps your prices down, it will be successful from our point of view, whether it operates or not."

Prices of light bulbs in Sweden are now lower than anywhere in Europe—about half of what they were when the trust had the field to itself. Cooperators everywhere were proud of the cooperative Luma lamp factory before the war; today it is three times as big as in 1938, and produces bulbs in all sizes, neon and fluorescent tubes, x-ray equipment, sun lamps and an endless variety of related products.

Today something else is going on in Sweden that is new to cooperators. Surplus funds of the co-ops are being invested in private businesses. This is not being done for the purpose of getting a return on the investment, but for three other reasons, all of them related to the welfare of the consumer. First, it is cheaper to buy out a business little by little then to announce that you are in the market for the whole—you can buy out one shareholder after another at reasonable prices as they make up their minds to sell. Second, even holding only twenty per cent of the stock in a business, you can have a voice in management policies; and cooperators have used this voice to lower prices and improve quality. Third, with a voice in management, you can place a few of your own technical people in the plant and let them pick up experience in operations which some day you may want to try for yourself.

FOR obvious reasons, Swedish business has no love for the cooperative movement, which has entered manufacturing in too many lines to have many friends left among old-line businesses. *Kooperativa Förbundet,* the central wholesale, is in the business of producing margarine, vegetable oils, pottery, auto tires, shoes, cellulose and paper, cash registers, porcelain bathroom fixtures. The tire factory is the largest in Sweden, and KF has broken new trails in a factory for synthetic nitrogen fertilizers. Obviously, the principle of production for use has its own dynamics.

Swedish business has decided, however, that the competition of cooperatives is still preferable to competition by the government. *The Wall Street Journal,* in its issue of September 14, carried a long and rather puzzled account of this development under the headline, "Swedish Cooperatives Join Businessmen in Opposing Socialism." "The co-ops," the story began, "Sweden's contribution to capitalism, are doing well," and the middle phrase doubtless startled *The Wall Street Journal's* regular readers as much as it did cooperators.

The theme of the article was that Swedish cooperators are trust-busters. They don't want to see government monopoly *or* business monopoly. Cooperatives, in their judgment, are the competitive force that can save business *and*

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government from monopoly and bureaucracy. Production for use is the principle that puts fresh life into economics; democratic control of business is the principle that saves government from becoming all-embracing. Government-in-business, while far from being offensive to the Swedes in principle, needs the corrective of competition; and Swedish cooperators share the fears of businessmen that when the government gets into business, it will develop the rigidity and unwieldiness of monopoly without even the profit incentive to keep it alive.

IN Sweden about thirty per cent of the population belongs to cooperatives. In England the percentage has passed fifty. Yet there is a considerable difference between the two countries. To the American observer, Sweden seems to have dash and vision, while the British movement seems by contrast cautious and slow-moving. This can be explained in various ways, but it is fair to say that the British co-op stores, the justly celebrated Rochdale principles, and the general attitudes of the British movement were all crystallized in the nineteenth century when retail competition in food was far from keen, when workingmen could more easily be persuaded to patronize a dingy little shop and wait for its slow growth, when formulas for successful cooperative production had not yet been found and the incentives for amassing large capital were relatively lacking.

Nevertheless, the British movement has a great and solid achievement to point to, a mass of experience for us to learn from. In England, as in Sweden, it becomes commoner every day to find men in public life thoroughly familiar with and sympathetic toward the aims of co-operatives. Public life in Sweden is full of men who have worked at one time or another for the cooperative movement, and in England two cooperators are now in the Labor Ministry. Critics of the movement, especially those whose feelings gravitate toward political activity, may point out failures to seize political opportunities, but the question of whether an economic movement gains more than it loses by firm or even temporary political alliances remains open.

ENGLAND and Sweden have social-democratic governments. In Russia and the United States, ruled respectively by leftist dictatorship and conservative democratic parties, cooperatives also play some part. Add to these such groups as the rural credit cooperatives of primitive India, the farm co-ops of feudal Japan, the producer co-ops of the Brazilian coffee planters, and the Socialist, Communist and Catholic co-ops of pre- and post-war Italy, and you have a curious mixture. In June, Pope Pius addressed a message to a conference of Catholics in Strassbourg recommending a co-operative economy in preference to nationalization of industry—"Even when nationalization is justified, it is to be feared that it may impart a mechanical character to life." In November, the Russian Council of Ministers decreed that urban consumer cooperatives, liquidated by decree in 1935, must be reorganized; and *Pravda,* announcing the decision, remarked that state-operated stores need competition to keep them from raising prices unduly and to stir them into livelier activity in the interests of city consumers. Clearly, co-ops thrive in many climates.

It is not surprising, then, that attempts to evaluate cooperatives from an habitually *political* point of view fail. Strictly speaking, a Socialist cooperative is as impossible as a Catholic bicycle or a Republican grapefruit. Where cooperatives have espoused political views or have limited membership to certain groups, they have withered. Recent reports indicate that in Czechoslovakia, where pre-war cooperatives split along political lines, the new cooperative movement has avoided political issues, thus finding unity and increased economic power. In a country where a majority of the people is Socialist, the cooperatives obviously will reflect Socialist views to some extent, and where, as in the United States, the majority is conservative, co-ops will be conservative. Nevertheless, a co-op is not a chameleon; by its very nature it makes certain demands on its environment. It will not grow unless it observes the principle of open membership, and therefore it is not adapted to areas where hatreds split a community into warring camps. It will not benefit the community unless the members and officers are permitted some initiative in analyzing needs and working out answers. This implies an environment friendly, in some degree, to democracy.

THE foregoing may serve as background to the story of the congress of the International Cooperative Alliance, held at Zurich, Switzerland, October 7 to 11. Cooperatives in thirty-seven countries belong to the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), which was organized in 1895. Among the countries whose cooperatives are members is the Soviet Union, which at the time of the Congress claimed 35,000,000 cooperative members; Great Britain,

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with 9,000,000 members; Sweden, with 800,000 members; France, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Poland, etc. Austrian cooperatives were sufficiently revived from the war to send delegates; but German cooperators were present only as observers, their movement being at present absorbed in the struggle to bring some order from the chaos of war and the post-war chaos of zonal division and military government.

American delegates from the Cooperative League of U. S. A. went to the Zurich congress with two major instructions. One was to call upon the ICA, in its role as permanent consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, to try to obtain United Nations administration of Middle Eastern oil reserves, in accordance with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. A resolution to this effect was offered to the congress, and was passed against slight opposition.

THE other instruction of the American delegation involved the setting up of an international oil co-op. One of the American movement's most spectacular successes has been in the production of gasoline and oil. A number of regional cooperative wholesale societies have purchased refineries and drilled oil wells, including the Farmers Union Central Exchange of St. Paul, State Exchange of Omaha, Midland Cooperative Wholesale of Minneapolis, Central Cooperative Wholesale of Superior, Wisc., Consumers Cooperatives Associated of Amarillo, Texas, the Ohio and Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Associations and, most notably, the Consumers Cooperative Association of Kansas City. Today, the American cooperative movement boasts ten refineries, two thousand miles of pipe line, and close to 500 oil wells. There are some 2,500 cooperative gas stations in the United States.

At the last pre-war congress of the ICA, Howard Cowden of the Kansas City group, made a plea for the establishment of a world oil co-op. The idea was novel and provoked considerable discussion, some of it unfavorable. With the advent of war, the project had to be laid away; but preparations could be made for the resumption of international relations in the cooperative movement, the atmosphere was found more favorable to a trading agency for oil. Already the Kansas City Cooperative Association, under Mr. Cowden's management, has shipped co-op oil to some twenty-two countries, including Sweden, Scotland, Holland, France, South Africa, Belgium, and Australia.

The oil commerce might have been turned

". . . there will be some changes before co-ops become a link between East and West."—MURRAY D. LINCOLN

over to the International Cooperative Trading agency, which was established just before the war and has never until now had a chance to get its feet on the ground. But when the matter came up for decision, a new organization was set up under the name of International Cooperative Petroleum Association (ICPA).

Three countries showed special interest in the formation of a world oil co-op: Sweden, Scotland, and the United States. Most of the resistance to the idea came from the British, for reasons which will be suggested later. Russian delegates had no strong feelings on the subject, not being free to enter international trade of any sort. Due to the majority's desire to set the oil exchange into quick action, the ICPA was voted into being with an authorized capital of $15,000,000 and a board of directors of six, including one each from the United States, Sweden, Scotland, France and South Africa.

Oil handled by the ICPA will not be sold through any other than cooperative channels. Shipments will be made to the cooperative wholesale societies in the countries participating. Control will be vested in all the cooperative wholesales subscribing to shares. Patronage refunds will be credited as in all other Rochdale

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cooperative societies and probably will be applied toward future purchases. There will be a limited return on capital, and each co-operative wholesale will have one vote.

THIS set-up illustrates pretty well what most of us understand by international cooperative trade. An alternative might have been mere bartering operations between co-ops that had oil to sell and co-ops that had something else to sell. Control of oil resources might have rested in the hands of one cooperative wholesale society, while twenty others bought without exercising any real control. This, in the majority opinion, would not be true cooperation. There is precedent for the approach adopted to this problem of international co-operation: The Swedish and Scotch cooperatives together own a light-bulb factory in Scotland. The British and the Scots together own tea plantations in Ceylon. Now, twenty-two co-operative wholesales will be in the market together for oil production facilities.

The British resistance to the world oil co-op may be attributed to several considerations. Of primary practical importance is the fact that the British Cooperative Wholesale Society now buys large quantities of petroleum products from private producers and has invested heavily in a fleet of trucks and other equipment; any instability in the relationship with the present supplier might place the wholesale under serious strain.

I think there is more to it than this, however. One of the incidents that came as a great surprise to the American delegates at the Zurich congress was the bitter fight that followed introduction of a resolution favoring free trade. This resolution was presented by the Swedish delegation, and we Americans were fully prepared to string along. The British, however, raised an immediate and vociferous protest, one of their delegates shouting "Free trade is dead!" We simple Americans, mostly Middle Westerners, were unprepared to find free trade so hot an issue, but voted with the Swedes; and the resolution passed over the dead bodies of the British. We could only infer that the British, unlike most cooperators elsewhere, are now oriented toward government predominance in their economy, and have substantially given up the notion the rest of us have of cooperatives working as a central stimulant.

A REPORTER who covered the Zurich conference cabled back to his foreign desk in New York, "The chief of the Soviet Russian delegates insisted at great length that powerful support for the cooperative movement is received from the governments of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. This indicates that world distribution of vital raw-stuffs by cooperatives would be compatible with ideological principles of both privately-owned and state-directed forms of economy, and hence opens the prospect of closing the breach between the West and the East."

The possibility is appealing, and we hope it is true. Further speculation might be based on the fact that the Soviet decree re-establishing urban cooperatives was issued just a month after the Zurich congress. Whether there is any actual connection, we don't know. Certainly there will be some changes, however, before co-ops become a link between West and East.

First, the Russian government will have to grant some kind of freedom to Russian co-operatives for importation, exportation and production. There is no inclination among Western cooperatives to do business with state trading agencies, any more than with private commercial agencies. There continues to be among the majority of cooperators a distrust of government bureaucracy as well as of private corporations—a distrust which I consider healthy.

Second, cooperative world trade will have to grow to a point where it can figure as a substantial alternative to private or government-directed cartels. There are no obstacles to this except the limits of our own initiative and the possibility of government regulations being forced upon us. No doubt it will take great cooperative growth to turn the minds of most liberals from conventional Socialist concepts.

Cooperatives need some freedom, but not, thank heaven, perfect freedom. They need freedom to buy and sell products *and* the means of production; they need freedom to treat their members with complete equality; they need freedom from discriminatory legislation; they need freedom from party politics. Given this much, their growth is assured. Lacking vision, it may be slow; with vision, it may be prodigious. Among those who are now directors of the world oil co-op, there seems to me no lack of vision. Nor is there any lack of seriousness toward the whole question of world trade. As Neil Beaton, veteran Scots cooperator, said to the Zurich congress, "If you do not promote international trading, you should go home and kiss your babes in their cradles, for the finger of death is already on their brows."

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ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

by SURYA SARDESAI

An eminent Indian educator, writing under a pseudonym, discusses the appalling tasks involved in lifting the literacy level of the masses of the sub-continent of India.

INDIA'S emergence as a self-governing nation makes the policies and activities of her new government of great interest and moment to other nations.

How will this gigantic country, as large as the whole of Europe west of Russia, and with a population of over 400 million, develop? In what direction will she bend her strength? In what manner can she overcome her present economic crisis and take her place among the leader-nations, instead of succumbing to her dead-load of problems and becoming a liability to the world?

Indians themselves, better than any others, know that the end of India's political struggle means the end of only one phase of her struggle for survival. The greatest battle of all remains to be won: that of saving her millions from the famines, pestilences and miseries to which they are exposed; of salvaging the national economy; and of establishing those conditions of life without which her people cannot make their true contribution to collective human advancement.

To appreciate the magnitude of the task that lies ahead, it is only necessary to review some of the conditions of life under which the people of India are at present struggling, particularly the 70 per cent who depend on agriculture for their livelihood, and whose standards of nutrition, housing, health and other amenities have sunk to among the lowest in the world.

THE life-expectation of the people of India is 26.91 years for males and 26.56 for females. There is not only the enormous child mortality. Among the Indian peasantry and laboring classes there is heavy mortality in the twenties and thirties where lack of nourishment, heavy toil, inadequate shelter and want of health facilities prematurally wear down the body. The 1939 statistics indicate that there is only one doctor for every 9,000 persons in India, and one nurse for every 86,000. The International Labor Office estimated that 74 per cent of the population of Bombay and 66 per cent of that of Cawnpore live in one-room flats; fifteen persons to a room is not uncommon in many parts of Bombay. The average per capita income in India is estimated at eight cents a day. The country has extensive natural resources, including some of the richest deposits of minerals, but they remain largely undeveloped. There is a paucity of roads, railways, and other means of communication. And on top of all this is the fact that 88 per cent of India's 400 millions is illiterate.

In the task of reconstruction that lies ahead, needless to say, all the resources, capital and skill available in the country, and all the human effort that the nation can command, will have to be mobilized. The great and urgent task before the Government of India is that of effecting, within the next fifteen years, a substantial improvement in the standard of living of the people. Our National Planning Committee is of the opinion that our minimum goal should be to treble our national income of 1931 during the next fifteen years by trebling our production of goods and services.

Obviously, economic development of this nature demands large-scale establishment of factories, reorganization of agriculture, the fostering of village industries, construction of roads and railways, increasing and improving the various public services—all measures requiring a stupendous outlay of capital and material. But all the finances and material we can lay hold of cannot bring about the required change in the fifteen-year period unless we utilize without delay our vast reservoir of man-power.

For the success of this economic scheme, we need not only intelligent planning and guidance from a corps of experts, but intelligent cooperation from the entire nation. Upon the efficiency of the average Indian worker, no less than upon the wise planning of the leaders, will depend the attainability of our goal. In the 700,000 villages of India, there is need for an enlightened adult peasantry undertaking rural reform so that the new generation may come to maturity emancipated from the economic calamities under which its parents struggled. Both the safety of the state and the growth of the nation demand that there be an awakening of our whole adult population to their responsibilities and potentialities as members

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of a democratic society. Therefore, adequate provision for the education of our adult masses, education that will foster in the masses an attitude of self-help, productive thinking, and initiative, must be undertaken without delay.

THE grave nature of the adult education problem in India can be gauged from the latest census returns. The 1941 census gives the total population of India as 389 million, and the number of literates as only 47 million, 322 thousand. This total of literates, moreover, is only obtainable by keeping the criterion for literacy so low as to signify the mere ability to read the prescribed primer and to sign one's name.

A graphic idea of the educational problem is obtained by comparing the rate of literacy increase to the rate of population increase. Between 1921 and 1931, to quote Dr. Frank Laubach, "the number of literates increased by 5 million, but the population increased by the staggering total of 33 million, six times as fast as they could be taught to read." A comparison of the output of literates with the yearly death-rate of literates, is equally depressing. "The total number of pupils in recognized schools who pass through Class IV," says an official report, "is a little more than the normal loss due to death among the literate males of 20 years of age and over. In the three Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Burma, the annual loss of literates due to death exceeds the number of pupils in Class IV." The loss sustained in the ranks of our literate adults through premature death, and the pressure of each year's flood of new children are two factors that, among others, make the educational situation extremely serious.

India cannot afford to wait another century before the bulk of her citizenry acquire the barest tools of civilized living. The question of evolving a better, dynamic and accelerated program of human uplift is an immediate one.

HAS the present situation been brought about by a failure on the part of official agencies to provide for public education? Total expenditures on education in India rose from under 20 million rupees in 1882 to near 290 million rupees (about 87 million dollars at current exchange rates) in recent years. But although the number of pupils attending educational institutions has increased greatly during this century, the number that these schools can claim to have educated to literacy is painfully small. For example, between 1902 and 1932, school attendance increased by 202 per cent, the number of schools increased by 733 per cent, educational expenditures increased by 669 per cent, but the output of literates rose by only 53 per cent.

The trouble with educational effort in India in the last two centuries has been not so much one of insufficient expenditure as of ill-directed expenditure.

It cannot be said that the meagerness of literacy increase in India is due to the inability of the Indian masses to profit from education because of their dullness or lack of native endowment. To the intelligence of the Indian race stands witness not only the civilization that the nation built up and which is among the oldest and the most honored in human annals, but the testimony of recent observers of the Indian Statutory Commission who, after coming in intimate contact with the people, stated that illiteracy in India cannot be taken to signify backwardness: that there are large numbers of persons in the country who, though not classified as literate, not only conduct their own affairs and those of the family intelligently but who have shown themselves capable of playing a vital role in public life; and that inherited traditions, native shrewdness, ability and practical experience assist many illiterate women to be good wives and mothers, ruling their households with wisdom and success.

The cause of the general failure of our educational efforts, particularly in the education of adults, therefore, must be sought elsewhere. It lies, I believe, in our selection of educational offerings. The type of education that is made available to the people is one that is far removed from their interests and daily needs. We have tried to sell them an article the value of which is not at all apparent to them. The external rewards—such as higher salaries, and promotions in Government service—which have been attached to the educational system to draw more pupils, do succeed in increasing the enrollment at the outset. The decline in numbers that comes in the wake of the first enthusiasm gives evidence of the fact that the instruction imparted has failed to satisfy.

THE concept of education for adults that is most generally adopted in India is "literacy." There is no doubt that by dint of much perseverence, sacrifice and toil the adult education which is being conducted in different parts of the country has borne some fruit. But this is to the credit not of the system but of the educators who will not let themselves be daunted despite heavy set-backs in their work. The records of several provinces go to show that

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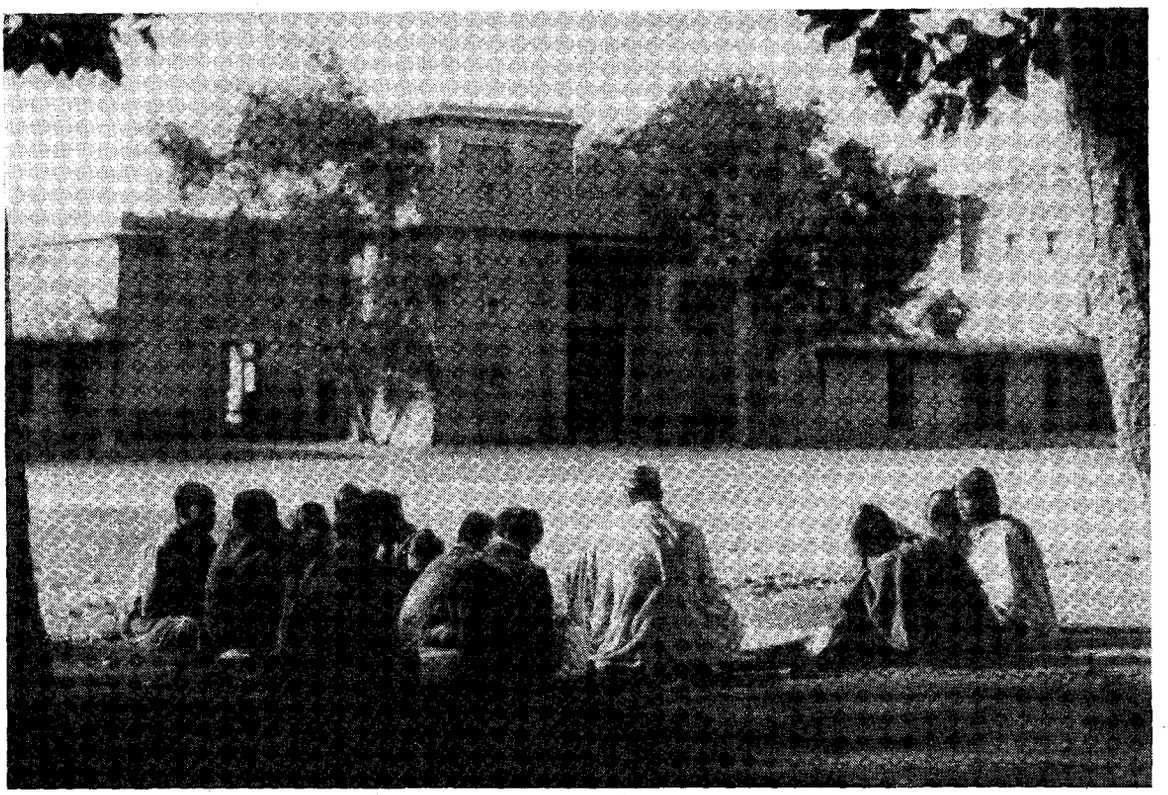

INDIAN TEACHER AND PUPILS

". . . the type of education that is made available to the people . . . is far removed from their interests and daily needs."

adult education has failed to create more than temporary and spurious enthusiasm among the masses. The experience of Punjab Province is striking, although certainly not unusual.

Punjab opened literacy classes for its adults in 1922. So vigorous was the campaign that in four year's time the enrollment rose from 17,776 pupils to a total of 98,414, and in the same period there was a corresponding increase in schools from 630 to 3,784. The boom in figures, however, soon turned out to be nothing more than a manifestation of educational inflation. Within ten years of the peak period the crash had come and the number of schools deflated to a mere 189 in 1937, with an enrollment of 4,988 pupils. The figures for 1936-37 had thus fallen to practically one-fourth the totals for the year in which adult schools in the Punjab were first begun.

The explanation for such phenomenon is not difficult to grasp when the program is viewed against the socio-economic background of the people. In a study conducted by Mr. Naik to find out why large numbers of children in India do not attend school, the following results were obtained:

Boys:

82% on account of economic difficulties.
17% prejudice, negligence or unwillingness of parents.
1% physical infirmities.

Girls:

62% on account of employment at home.
37% prejudice, negligence or unwillingness of parents.
7% physical infirmities.

If economic considerations are a major factor in the non-attendance of children, how much more weight will they not have in the case of adult education? A peasant or a laborer, spending his days in constant economic insecurity, burdened with debt, subsisting on one solitary meal a day (and that none too certain), worried about the maintenance of his family, his land

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and his cattle, can hardly be expected to take happily to the task of learning to read and write.

Dissatisfaction on this score has been voiced by the peasantry, as seen in the following statement from the account of the educator, Mr. Yusuf Ali.

"I remember a dear old Lambardar who had enough confidence in me to lay bare his real mind. He had been approached by a college enthusiast to attend an adult education class and he came to me to complain. 'Huzur,' he said, 'are we grown-up, bearded men fit to sling slates round our arms and march in procession behind a young man who prattles of Alif, Bé, Pé, and the multiplication tables? Who will look after our cattle and our fields? It is hard work as it is to earn our daily bread. In the evening when we meet at the Chupal we talk among ourselves over our Huggas, perhaps of our crops and our seasons, perhaps even in bated breath of the wiles of our patwari. Are we to give up even that bit of relaxation and become children again? We release our boys—those whom we can spare from the fields—to attend school, and then we lose them. They go and take service. Perhaps they can earn good money, but we don't want our villages to be left in the lurch."

IF our literacy campaigns have broken down it is because they failed to take into account the conscious needs of the masses. "Literacy" alone, as an immediate program for the peasantry and laborers, is bound to leave them cold in the face of the enormous and pressing socio-economic problems with which their lives are beset. Our literacy efforts have largely failed to catch the imagination of the people in any permanent way or to stir new life in the villages, precisely because from their point of view the motive is too limited, the rewards of the task too distant, the efforts involved and sacrifices demanded by far too great.

The approach to the problem of adult education in India must be more functional, in the first place; and secondly—to obtain the cooperation of the people—it must be capable of affording immediate and concrete results. Other methods of intellectual stimulation, and non-book techniques for imparting information must be richly used in the initial program in order that from day to day, and not merely at the end of six month's toil at the alphabet, the peasant may be conscious of his horizon being appreciably extended and his capacity to deal with his everyday problem greatly increased.

"The people," says Junmy Yen, "have no time to learn this and that. They need desperately, with their little time and money, to learn the right things. Make the essential knowledge available to the people and applicable by the people."

THE task of deciding upon the "type" of official adult education program to be launched in India is a serious one. A sound system can only be evolved if it has behind it the benefits of continuous and comprehensive scientific research. A program that is to be of utmost benefit to a community must take into account the life of the community, the sociological and psychological background of the people, their needs, and the potentialities of the locality. The principles of education we have so far applied have as a rule been evolved in educational institutions in urban areas, very far from the communities to which they were to be applied. We need to combine theoretical knowledge with practical observations, particularly when dealing with the innumerable rural communities of India whose development has been very different from that of the urban centers.

In order to give the government program the full benefits of scientific research for the evolving of suitable techniques and the production of the right materials, it would be necessary to organize "stations" or "units" of field work where the official educational experiments could be conducted. These field units would conduct investigations into the community life, "apply" programs, observe reactions, and measure the outcome. They would launch community programs of economic development and general rehabilitation, combined with cultural and recreational activities.

Whatever scheme might be adopted, India must be prepared to face enormous expenses and spare no cost of skill and labor, in order to make her new educational venture a success. The issues at stake are large. The educational policy must be a bold one, drawing, if necessary, upon the experience and help of other sections of the world. For in dealing with the welfare of her millions, India is dealing with the welfare of one-fifth of the human race.

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THE MYTH of FACTS and FIGURES

by LEO LANIA

"Facts are ventriloquists' dummies. Sitting on a wise man's knee they may be made to utter words of wisdom; elsewhere, they say nothing, or talk nonsense, or indulge in sheer diabolism."—Aldous Huxley.

The author of this article is a journalist and lecturer, writer of many books of fiction and non-fiction—his latest being "The Darkest Hour" and "Today We Are Brothers."

"GIVE us the facts! All the facts and nothing but the facts!" This is the clamor from coast to coast. According to our daily editorials, most of the evils and difficulties of our not-so-bright present could be overcome if only the people had "a better access to all the facts pertaining to world events." For the shortcomings of our occupation of Germany, our dangerously strained relations with Russia, the lack of a clearly defined foreign policy—for all these ills there is, we are told, one real panacea: "Honest information based on facts and figures."

Nobody can deny the importance of such information and I surely do not intend to minimize its usefulness. On the other hand, two implications should be contradicted.

First: it is simply not true that the American public is suffering from a lack of factual information about world politics. On the contrary, there has probably never been a period in history when the average man had such full access to all political and economic facts as today. And he takes advantage of this opportunity. What impressed me most on many lecture tours across the country during the past two years was the knowledge of facts which audiences had. Unfortunately, this knowledge does not assure a greater or more mature understanding of the vast and complex problems we are facing and are called upon to solve.

And then, the second fallacy: The average American today—lost in a maze of facts and figures which contradict each other—is unable to find a proper perspective. Thus he ends up in a state of disillusionment and frustration for which he compensates with an arrogant belief in his superiority. Why shouldn't he know all the answers since he knows the facts? In his failure to see the forest for too many trees, the American often resembles a man who believes that all that is needed to understand a painting is to know how many ounces of color the painter used, how many hours he worked on it and, of course, for how much he was able to sell it. Once knowing these facts he does not even think of finding the approach from which to study the painting and which alone would give him real understanding of the piece of art, of the deeper meaning and message hidden behind thousands of lines and brush strokes. He prefers to count the strokes and calls it "analyzing the facts."

WE have excellent columnists and commentators who try hard to give what they call "the story behind the facts"; yet in most cases they do nothing else but give still more facts and details. The trouble is that they are more concerned with digging up some chance remarks made by Byrnes to Molotov over a glass of vodka than with fitting the various pieces of the world puzzle into a comprehensive whole. The correspondents are not to be blamed for this. The facts they unearth make the headlines, and publishers as well as readers seem to appreciate this kind of job far more than a balanced and thoughtful analysis which must be read from beginning to end in order to be rightly evaluated. How few newspaper readers are actually interested in such articles! They do not even read the editorials; they have not time.

Besides, whenever a radio commentator or columnist does not stick to mere presentation of facts and figures, he is accused of "propaganda." Lately this word has become a battle cry, very effective in silencing or, at least, in stifling every independent opinion. And, therefore, the younger journalists in ever-increasing number come to the conclusion that it does not pay to leave the worn-out tracks of the "let's-stick-to-the-facts" practitioners.

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ONE of the results of this lack of proper political education is the near disaster of our occupation of Europe. The critics blame it on the failure of our "higher-ups" to tell the GIs why we fought this war and what the aims of our occupation are; but those who believe that the Army has not realized the importance of such an "indoctrination" are mistaken. Unfortunately, the entire approach of basing the orientation courses on the principle: "Avoid all controversial questions! Hands off politics! Give the soldiers facts and figures only!" was wrong from the very beginning.

You cannot explain the struggle against Fascism and Nazism merely in terms of concentration-camp horrors, of Goebbels' lies, and Mussolini's megalomania. You cannot refute the ideas of Communism without raising "controversial problems." In order to understand what is going on today in France, in Italy or in the Balkans, historical and geographical data do not suffice, even if you close each lecture with ringing praise for "Free Enterprise."

I have seen dozens of orientation papers, their primitivity only matched by their bloodless emptiness. In all army camps the soldiers are bored by the orientation courses and regard these lectures as punishment. Instead of transforming each of these lectures into a kind of seminar, a free discussion with everybody participating, and making it as controversial as possible, we carefully feed the boys selected bits of "straight" information about our enemies. Otherwise, certain Congressmen or Senators might accuse the army of "peddling political propaganda among our soldiers."

Propaganda! There never has been, and never will be, an original and independent thinker who was not, and will not be, accused of propaganda. Yet, there is nothing inherently bad or wrong about propaganda. Moses and Christ, Tolstoy and Freud, Jefferson and Lincoln – they were all propagandists for their ideas. So was Hitler, for that matter. "Mein Kampf" is a piece of evil propaganda, the Bible a noble one—that's all the difference.

Why be surprised, therefore, when so many of our soldiers find the Germans a very nice people, dislike the French, and come to the conclusion that "we fought on the wrong side." They judge the Germans by their plumbing and the French farmers by their lack of it. Aren't these "irrefutable facts?"

WE are surprised that the war has not yet produced a single major novel, although the crop of journalistic reports about the different phases of our military operations was impressive and far superior to the work of our correspondents in World War I. It is often said that the reason for the failure of our novelists to produce another "War and Peace," "Débâcle" or "A Farewell to Arms" lies in our being still too close to the events of the last war, in not yet having gained the necessary perspective.

Valid as this explanation is, it does not give the complete answer. We lack not only time to gain that perspective, but also a strong spiritual basis from which to look at the turmoil around us. We no longer dare to retreat into an ivory tower, realizing that even a tower of steel does not give any protection in the era of the atomic bomb. We have lost our bearings; we have no yardstick with which to measure the forces engulfing us; and we mistrust most, if not all, of the so-called "eternal values."

Today the American ground is shaking. Facts and figures prove an inadequate weapon for the defense of our spiritual values, and the "digests" have become an "ersatz" for honest thinking. You get the answers without taking the trouble of asking yourself any questions, and even before. Only—you cannot make a digest out of "Hamlet" or reduce the "Sermon on the Mount" to a headline, without committing a spiritual sacrilege.

AN American correspondent stated lately that present conditions in France are determined by three spiritual forces: Catholicism, Marxism, and Existentialism—the last, a movement pretending to be absolutely new and original and which is neither new nor original but only the slightly modernized philosophy of despair and pessimism that always blossoms in times of crisis and upheaval. It will be as short-lived now as in the past.

It cannot be denied that religion—not only Catholicism—is gaining influence amongst the masses of Europe. The question is: Will the newly formed catholic-democratic parties in France and Italy be able to give the people a true concept of Catholicism and Democracy, of brotherhood and equality, or will they again degenerate into centers of reaction? With all former Fascists and Nazis trying to hide behind the "pillars of the church" and with the hierarchy pledged to support the reactionary policy of the Vatican, it is difficult to see how the idealistic and, in the best sense, revolutionary spirit of the Catholic youth—the rank-and-file priests, the intellectuals, the workers and farmers of the Catholic unions – could triumph over the dogmas and the material

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interests of the princes of the church whose privileges depend on the preservation of wealth, nobility and the status quo. Every step of the catholic-democratic parties to the extreme right, every compromise with their idealistic principles, must not only drive their most sincere followers to the left, but will, at the same time, undermine the religious sentiment and faith in Catholicism among the masses.

As far as Marxism is concerned, its success depends inversely upon the ability of the Western European labor leaders to give the people a program (and also to put it into practice) which would represent a synthesis of individual freedom and collective economy. Had the British Labour Party proved capable of establishing the same progressive course in Britain's foreign policy as it did in domestic policy, no doubt Western Socialism would have won a decisive battle against Russian Communism, and the whole political and spiritual atmosphere of Europe would be different.

As it is—with Bevin copying, not too intelligently, the already bankrupt methods of prewar Toryism, and applying them from Spain to Palestine, and from Greece to Hongkong—the Communists are gaining. And they would gain still faster and win more decisive victories, were it not for the brutal and openly imperialistic policy of the Kremlin which antagonizes even the radical masses of Russia's satellites.

UNDER these circumstances, America has a unique chance of leading the people of Europe—provided we can prove to them that our preaching of the ideals of democracy is more than a convenient lip service. But when even our most progressive and liberal columnists believe that we can counteract the influence of Russia by giving the people "honest facts instead of Communistic propaganda," it only shows the complete disorientation and the immature political thinking of our liberals. It is the same naiveté with which they blame the State Department for not having a clear foreign policy. Here are the rules, the facts, and the figures, everything in black-and-white; and now, Mr. Secretary of State, go ahead and execute our foreign policy! Foreign policy, however, is not a car or a house that can be built according to a blueprint. Foreign policy is you and I, the American people, projecting our internal problems, differences and ways of life on the international scene. The shortcomings of our foreign policy prove the shortcomings and the immaturity of the American people. Roosevelt had influence, his voice carried all over the world, not because he supplied facts, but because he had a message to give, the fruit of a new spiritual and social philosophy. And he made the world understand that these ideals of his were not for foreign consumption only but formed the very basis of his policy in America as well.

It is a truism that people mistrust each other because they don't understand each other; and that mistrust leads to prejudice, hatred, and finally war. It is false, however, to assume that facts and figures speak a universal language. The only universal language is spoken by moral principles that can withstand the acid test of all the contradictions of daily lives and the weaknesses of human nature. That is the reason why all so-called "unrealistic" idealists have proved to be the greatest realists in the end, whereas the hard-boiled "realists" present us only with wonderful statistics and charts: statistics of labor unrest, Wall Street ups and downs, and the production schedule of the atomic bomb.

LET us learn the facts, let us not underestimate the importance of factual information which we always ought to defend against distortion and coloring. But people don't live only by facts, nor do they live by bread alone. The more hopeless and hungry they are, the more do they long for a light to show them a path out of the spiritual jungle in which they find themselves.

Until we expand and deepen our political education—in and out of schools and colleges; until our teachers, writers, and dramatists will no longer be satisfied with merely reporting events, but will make a sincere attempt to uphold and strengthen the principles of living with which we can harmonize our individual lives; until we prove able to translate the basic concepts of our democratic beliefs into a concrete program of action—in community, state and country—until that time we shall have no domestic and no foreign policy, but merely expedients. We shall have not unity, not even a struggle between clearly defined conflicting interests, but simply a general confusion. And we shall continue to live spiritually in a two-dimensional world, so to speak, in which we gradually lose our eyesight and become more and more myopic and ridiculous: Half blind men, not realizing their affliction, attempting to lead other such men over steep and dangerous cliffs.

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THE POST-WAR THEATER

Trends in the French and American Stage

from PARIS:

by CHARLES PICHON
French Author and Critic

THE morrow of World War I in France was marked by a reburgeoning in the theater, of which the most famous manifestation was Jacques Copeau's *Vieux Colombier.* Copeau, however, was not alone. Louis Jouvet (one of his disciples, up to then almost unknown, whose insolent mockery in the *Coupe Enchantee* of La Fontaine was greatly admired by the Parisians) and, with him, the Pitoëffs, Charles Dullin, Gaston Baty, brought about the youthful and fecund formula of a complete theater. These young people of 1920 presented—in a stylized decor rich in velums, curtains, prosceniums, stairways and loggias—plays of all countries and epochs, interpreted by artists who had to know how to sing and dance as well as act in the traditional sense of the word—in short, a theater in the style of Moliere, a return to the sources.

Now, the morrow of World War II brings its new revolution. The pioneers of yesterday have become the masters of today. And once more young people are emerging who (and never was the metaphor more suitably used) "shake the scenery" madly.

But against whom and—more important still—against what, do these youths react with the violence of their twenty-five years?

They react against the static quality of the theater as it now exists. Certainly neither Jouvet, Dullin, nor Baty is suffering in the least from hardening of the arteries. Right now Jouvet, in *L'Ecole Des Femmes,* and Dullin in *La Vie Est Un Songe,* by Calderon, have created productions throbbing with young blood. But they are bound by the stern law of economic conditions of 1946: the costliness of everything, from the union wage of the stage hand to the painted canvas of the scenery and the price of electricity. They can afford to produce only "successes," and the battles they wage must be won in advance.

The *Jeunes Compagnies,* who recently held a contest in Paris, resolved to try a different approach. With actors—some of them still novices but full of fire—with rudimentary scenery, with simplified costumes, with modern dress (as seen in *Le Carthaginois* of Plautus); in short, with a minimum of expenditures they present plays, some unknown and of uneven value, but with a definite character. They often err, to be sure, but they are breaking new ground. Of course, the old critics knit their brows in a frown because these young companies are breaking set patterns. But the sap rises again in the spring, the buds break open—and the tree grows green again.

There is, moreover, another and lasting reason for welcoming these innovations brought about by the *Jeunes Compagnies.* The theater which is today universally accepted, the former *Cartel des Quatre* (Jouvet, Dullin, Pitoëff, Baty), represents the working concept of a generation at its peak—an admirable formula no doubt, since masters such as these interpret the art, mostly intellectual or mystic, of other masters such as Giraudoux and Claudel. But the *Jeunes Compagnies*—well in keeping with their times—seek rather to shock, to portray brutality and occasionally sexuality. They lean much more toward Sartre, Garcia Lorca, and perhaps Miller, than toward Claudel and Giraudoux.

On the popular side, they present the "force" (in the manner of 1630: with mountebanks, trombones and pistons) and, on occasion, provincial and sometimes even rustic plays. *Le Theatre aux Champs,* with a peasant cast, plays the circuits in the Normandy countryside. *Les Comediens de Grenoble* does the same in Dauphiné, and has boldly opened a school of dramatic art there. *La Compagnie Pierre Assy,* as well as *L'Effort* is touring Germany and Austria. *Les Quatre-Vents* blow at Marseilles. *La Nef,* after having played Moliere at Paris, *en veston,* presented "Le Granit" by the Serbian playwright Jedvabe at Auxerre, and is going to give all its premieres in a provincial city. *Le Theatre du Temps* (first prize winner of the

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contest of *Jeunes Compagnies*), *Le Myrmidon* and the troopers of *Grenier-Hussenot* of Agnes-Capri, are equally daring.

Thus, these young people bring back memories of the great Gemier, teacher of Baty, who thirty-five years ago sent out over the roads of France in a motor-driven version of the stage-coach, his *Chariot de Thespis.*

Also, the enthusiastic team work of these young players, and their taste for robust and fresh country-side audiences bring to mind the Copeau of the Paris theater in 1920, and of the stages of Burgundy in later years. Only snobs will smile at such juxtapositions and analogies. True students of the theater (and of society) know that revolutions, fruitful revolutions, are those which bring about—if necessary by violence and despite the outward characteristics of their authors—the rediscovery of the basic values of a race.

from NEW YORK:

by WILLIAM CHAPIN JACKSON
Playwright, Producer, Critic and Author

ANY consideration of the course of the American Theatre since the ending of World War II inevitably leads to two immediate conclusions: first, that the theater's development as an institution of American life is definitely on the upgrade; secondly, that its artistic vitality, if not temporarily low, is at least not nearly so pronounced as many of its well-wishers had hoped and expected to find at the beginning of its second post-war season.

Unless all signs fail, the theater is now launched on a course of decentralization and national expansion which can eventually carry it over the length and breadth of the United States to form a genuinely national American Theatre. This trend is evidenced not only by recent activities of The National Theatre Conference, the American Theatre Wing, and the American National Theatre and Academy —popularly known as ANTA—but also by the successful opening of a number of professional repertory theaters throughout the country, by the vigorous program of the Equity Library Theatre of New York, and by a strong and progressive activity among all community and education theaters of the nation.

THE American National Theatre and Academy, after a decade of being little more than a name, has at last begun work on a detailed plan for a drive to raise funds for a National Theatre Foundation. This, if carried through, will provide millions of dollars to be used at the discretion of the Foundation for helping any and all enterprises throughout the United States which try to carry out the principle embodied in ANTA's charter: "bringing to the greatest number of people the finest possible theater at the lowest possible prices."

At the same time, besides serving as a link between American theatrical endeavor and the national theaters of other countries, ANTA has taken a definite step toward putting into practice one of its major projects by renting the Princess Theatre in New York as a location for its acting academy. This is designed to provide a graduate course in acting to bridge the gap now existing between school and college dramatics and the professional theater.

AT its annual meeting in November 1945, the National Theatre Conference, a non-profit organization composed of directors of community and university theaters, took a step of its own toward expanding the professional theater of Broadway by approving a resolution to professionalize community theaters throughout the country. This plan has met with opposition on the part of many community theaters for a variety of reasons, the most valid of which seems to be that professionalization might destroy a means of self-expression which is important to the community and which flourishes on a basis of "art for art's sake." But the plan has considerable support and has the obvious advantage of providing a swift and almost ready-made means of decentralizing the professional American Theatre. In any event, the Conference has a broad program for making use of a recent grant of $155,000 to take care of an anticipated wide-spread expansion of educational and community theater activities.

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The American Theatre Wing, which was responsible for the organization in New York of the Stage Door Canteen during the war, recently took its place as one of the forces interested in the forward march of the American Theatre by offering for the first time, as of July 1946, a technical and professional veterans' program—consisting of an eight-week summer course in radio, theater, music and the dance —to all war veterans who were actively engaged in any branch of entertainment at the time their war services began. The summer session was followed by two more, beginning respectively in September and November, which offered more practical, advanced and specialized training.

A WORD should here be said for the work of the Equity Library Theatre in continuing a course of activity which began in 1944, when the New York Public Library system, in agreement with the Actors' Equity Association, made available a dozen little theaters in unused portions of its branches for the production of plays to give young actors and directors a chance to show their abilities before invited audiences. In these small theaters thirty-four plays were produced during 1944-45 and forty-eight more in the season 1945-46. To date the production schedule has included such unusual offering as Ibsen's "When We Dead Awaken," and Massinger's "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," as well as plays by Goethe, Goldoni, Schnitzler, Machiavelli and Shakespeare. Besides the general public, audiences include theatrical producers, and theatrical and Hollywood agents, and even critics.

Outside the continental United States, the post-war American Theatre is represented in a Theatre and Radio Arts Branch of the Fine Arts Department of Biarritz American University, a wholly American educational institution commanded by Brig. Gen. Samuel L. McCroskey. Here students are offered complete courses of instruction in the theater, radio, and motion picture fields, with a supplementary program of practical application of all studies.

ORGANIZED professional repertory theater which has sprung into being during these first post-war years has its strongest roots, as quite properly it should, on Broadway. There, during the past year, two producing groups—known respectively as Theatre Incorporated and The American Repertory Theatre – have gone into production on a permanent basis. Theatre Incorporated, the first to open, is conducted on a non-profit basis and has as its planned program a steady offering of both new plays and selected revivals. Opening with a revival of Shaw's "Pygmalion," it brought over, in May 1946, the Old Vic Repertory Theatre Company of London for a six week's engagement. Following this, in October of this year, it offered a revival of Synge's "The Playboy of the Western World," and a new play is now definitely on its immediate production schedule.

The American Repertory Theatre opened its first season in November with a schedule of Shakespeare's "Henry VIII," Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows" and Ibsen's "John Gabriel Borkman."

Outside of New York, professional repertory theater has made heartening advances. As early as March, 1945, plans were made for a professional repertory theater in Dallas, Texas. The housing shortage caused a temporary postponement of activity, but the project is well under way.

On the West Coast, the San Francisco Theatre Association has been incorporated as a non-profit professional enterprise, and permanent professional repertory theaters are in blueprint or actual operation in many other states, notably Ohio, Kentucky, and Minnesota. Virginia, in The Barter Theatre, boasts the first state theater ever established. However, with ANTA now launching its drive for a heavily endowed foundation, state subsidization of any theater will be unnecessary, since it is ANTA's avowed purpose to make funds available for all serious projects leading to a wider expansion of the American Theatre.

In the field of the community and educational theaters there is also a strong post-war movement in the directions of experimentation, broadening of scope, and serious self-appraisal. Particularly in the educational theater, efforts are being made whereby students seriously interested in the theater may enjoy a greater opportunity for practical training than they now receive.

IT might reasonably be supposed from even a cursory study of the scope of this theatrical activity that the American Theatre would have experienced an artistic flowering in these post-war years somewhat in line with its healthy expansiveness. Unfortunately, such is not the case. Actually, the American Theatre, except in the field of musical comedy, seems to be in a condition of suspended growth. Post-war seasons up to the present have brought to the front not a single new writer of any account,

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and their most stimulating moments in the field of purely spoken drama (as distinguished from musical) have occurred during the visit of the Old Vic Repertory (notably in the production of "Oedipus") and when Katharine Cornell and Sir Cedric Harwicke appeared in a luminous and moving presentation of another importation—Jean Anouilh's "Antigone."

There has been no sign thus far of the rebirth of a strong tragic drama which some persons had hoped for as a result of the searing years of world conflict. In fact, the spoken drama, insofar as it has developed in any direction, seems rather to have moved toward fantastic, musical, gay, sometimes satirical presentations as exemplified by "Lute Song," "Born Yesterday," "Dream Girl," "State of the Union," and more recently "Happy Birthday"—to mention just five successes. These plays seem to typify the American Theatre's desire to escape from strict realism toward a lighter, gayer, world of laughter and happy make-believe.

Two qualifications need be added to the foregoing statement. First, many plays have dealt with racial or religious problems. These include "Jeb," "Strange Fruit," "Deep Are the Roots," and "On Whitman Avenue" as plays dealing in some way with the colored problem; and "Home of the Brave" and "A Flag is Born" which touch—the one lightly and the other far more forcibly—on discrimination against Jews. Secondly, there has been a great interest in revivals, as witnessed by productions of "Hamlet," "The Winter's Tale," "The Front Page," "He Who Gets Slapped," "Lady Windermere's Fan," "The Playboy of the Western World," "Pygmalion," "The Duchess of Malfi," "Lysistrata," "The Would-Be Gentleman," "Show Boat," "Cyrano de Bergerac" and, of course, productions of The American Repertory Theatre. When to this list is added "Love for Love," "The Importance of Being Earnest," and "A School for Scandal," which are expected on Broadway in the near future, it will be clear that, from the producers' point of view, plenty of gold still remains in some of the theater's past treasures.

IT must be equally clear that this unusual dependence on the past implies a lack of vital native drama which should be occupying the efforts and attention of the theater-loving public of America. Cost of production plus the theater housing shortage may be partly responsible for this since they discourage experimentation. If this is so, the repertory movement that is clearly underway may provide some solution through the possibility it gives of cutting costs by guaranteeing full-time employment to actors and labor.

Whatever the reason, the American Theatre has shown clear forward movement in the postwar years only in the field of musical comedy. But such productions as "Carousel" and "Oklahoma" represent a distinct artistic advance over the old form of musical comedy. They show a successful union of soundly written drama with the allied arts of music and dancing which amounts to a new art form in the American Theatre.

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MOVIES

THE HOLLYWOOD LETTER

by ALLEN RIVKIN

SOMETIMES you take the best there is from the book field, the theater and the movies and—you get nothing. But if you have William Wyler of *Wuthering Heights* and *The Memphis Belle* fame, Robert E. Sherwood with his three Pulitzer Prizes for playwriting, MacKinlay Kantor with all those fine novels behind him and then add Gregg Toland's masterful camera —chances are you can come up with something pretty wonderful.

That's what *The Best Years of Our Lives* is —something pretty wonderful.

After three and a half years in the Air Forces, Director Wyler knew the score; so did Sherwood working in OWI and sitting next to FDR for the war speeches; so did Gregg Toland of the Navy; so did Kantor, recently of OWI. These men knew there was no mass production in the solution of veteran problems; they knew that each man is and has his own; they knew that even with Goldwyn's three million dollars at their disposal, it'd be tough to put on the screen —even in two hours and forty-five minutes—the great story of our generation.

Once again, as in the earlier film, *Till The End of Time*, three returning service men are the center of an ever-spreading circle of people and problems. The three are thrown together by a chance trip home in a plane. From then on their lives are somewhat intertwined, though the story of the crippled sailor is more loosely bound to that of the others: a middle-aged sergeant, Al Stephenson, played by Fredric March, returning to his attractive wife, Myrna Loy, his grown daughter, Teresa Wright, and an adolescent son; and a bombardier Captain, Fred Derry, played by Dana Andrews, a hero who had been a soda-jerk before entering the Air Forces. He is returning to a wife and a marriage of twenty days and the vague hope of better things.

The charm and the strength of the picture lies in its complete naturalness. March, a man of gayety and love for his fellow men, returns mellowed by his experiences in the Pacific—an experience which embittered many another older man. His alarm and momentary constraint at becoming part of a family circle again —the wife and children who suddenly seem strangers after the long anticipation—bring on a depression which he covers by a large and beautiful binge with his wife and daughter. Gradually he fits himself back into life at the bank—one of the fortunates who fall back into place, never again with complacency, but with a sense of responsibility to his fellow veterans in particular; and a strong faith in their integrity and their right to a place in a world too anxious to forget what they did.

Dana Andrews, the bombardier, returns to a sordid home where his drunken father and stepmother retain a sweetness, love and admiration for him despite their helplessness to aid him. His night-club-singer wife, who married a uniform, becomes just that: a silly, superficial girl looking for material glamor. She is not by any means every wife who married in haste during the war, but she is one of far too many and Andrews unfortunately recognizes their incompatibility, her lack of delicacy, immediately. When he meets Teresa Wright, March's daughter, he knows this only too well. His own marriage a failure, he soon takes up with Teresa. This easy solution, for a terrifyingly large percentage of war marriages, is no solution at all except perhaps for this particular couple and this certainly will be evident to audiences.

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Despite the truly brilliant and satisfying performances of March, Loy, Andrews and Wright, the audience memory remains primarily with the third boy. He is Harold Russell, a G. I. who actually lost both hands and wrists on D-Day. Director Wyler saw him in a rehabilitation film made by the Army Pictorial Service and, through the good offices of Major Julius Blaustein, located Russell at Harvard. He was brought to Hollywood to play the part of the young sailor whose ship went down in the Pacific. This unassuming lad of thirty-two doesn't try to be an actor. He merely plays himself, with his two articulated metal hooks, and his performance you *must* see to believe! We see how the hospital has taught him to use these hooks and feel that, surrounded by others in a similar fix, a great confidence has been built up in him. But the gradual crumbling of his hope under the pity of his family and his refusal to accept the love of his girl because this too has become pity in his mind (as in *Pride of the Marines*), is the violent heartbreak you'll have to cry through. However, even his bitterness doesn't completely destroy him since he has the courage to learn and to play piano with his hooks and to talk about them unselfconsciously when his love is not involved. Finally, the girl, another competent performance given by Cathy O'Donnell, brings the issue out into the open and then comes, for the audience at least, the most startling scene in the picture when, without any attempt at covering, he demonstrates what happens as he removes the artificial hands preparatory to bed. In a quiet voice he tells of his helplessness from that time until someone can strap the arms back on and then, to everyone, comes that terrible moment of realization when you suddenly understand that *nothing* can ever repay him.

Other brilliant bits of cinema magic Wyler, Sherwood and Toland have effected are: when Russell's little sister, together with her kid playmates, attempt to imitate the actions of his metal fingers, thus making startling the unconscious cruelty of children; as the plane is carrying the three boys homeward, Russell awakens and, on his face, all his hopes and fears for the future are expressed in brilliant pantomine; when March, watching Russell's dexterity on a bar piano, sees in the distant background Andrews phoning Wright that he'll never see her again; when March, recovering from a hang-over, sees his wife and daughter in his bedroom talking about him and his answering burp—which, for the first time on the screen, is amusing rather than vulgar; when Andrews' drunken father, Bud Bohnen, haltingly reads the bombardier's citation for bravery which the boy has left behind as just so much waste paper while he has gone away for parts unknown; and, finally, the marriage between Russell and O'Donnell when the minister tells them they are now to join their hands together in holy wedlock—O'Donnell's hand starts shaking—Russell's hook reaches out to calm it—then, with the other hook, he slips the ring on her finger!

This is a picture strangely sweet and tender in spite of its occasionally pointed and meaningful darts at the ostrich-minded. While it contains some of the conventional concessions to cinema rosiness, at its best it is human and alive. These are people, these are men; ordinary men, men to remember.

* * *

Many years ago Rouben Mamoulian, in making *Jekyll and Hyde*, used a point-of-view camera. That is, the camera became the leading character. He used it for the first reel of the picture; then threw in his star so you could look at him. Robert Montgomery thought he could sustain the trick for an entire picture. He tries it now in another Raymond Chandler—this time, *Lady in the Lake*. It doesn't quite come off. Perhaps it's Chandler's fault. His novels are so mixed up and so confused to start with, this technique makes it worse; perhaps it's the scriptwriter's fault for not being a good enough writer to put into character's mouths what they were up to; perhaps it was Montgomery's fault who, with his first directorial job, didn't quite know what he was doing. Occasionally you do get a glimpse of Montgomery, as he acts the leading role, but mostly his voice does the acting. Fortunately, the movie medium isn't radio and on the screen, you want to *see* what's happening, rather than hear. Maybe, someday, some smart guy will lick this thing and make it work. That time hasn't come yet, however interesting this first full-length attempt is.

* * *

Jack Skirball and Bruce Manning have put together a perfectly beautiful and exciting production of Irving Stone's story and script in *The Magnificent Doll*, the tale of Dolly Madison. Ginger Rogers as Dolly is almost believable, but David Niven as Aaron Burr and Burgess Meredith as James Madison, ring a bell as potent as the Liberty they talk about. One scene, where Meredith tells Rogers his feelings for freedom and ends up proposing to her, is as lovely and true a thing as you've seen in many a film.

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FREE SPEECH

Disarmament

"The recent notices regarding disarmament discussions in the United Nations have been most gratifying. If the UN accomplishes little else than to eliminate armaments, it will have performed one of the most glorious feats in history.

"With control of armaments and the harnessing of atomic energy to peaceful means, mankind can achieve undreamed of heights of civilization. Atomic energy put to constructive use will undoubtedly bring about the abolition of some of the more virulent of human diseases, and provide motive and other power which will enable people to have sufficient leisure to create great works in the arts, to build for the future instead of destroying the present.

"Let us all urge our representatives to the UN to work for the control of armaments and toward a time when war will but be a thing of the past, a story which will serve as a moral example."

B. D. ARGOE
New York City

Inspiration on Basic Issues

"The article, 'Let Us Face the Basic Issues,' by Dane Rudhyar, in a recent issue of FREE WORLD reached me at a psychological moment when I was pondering some of the thoughts he expressed ably and clearly. It helped move my thoughts along further and gave me some more to think about. The article is filled with profound thought so well digested that the expression is lucid. I want to thank you.

"By the way, FREE WORLD is developing into an A-1 magazine."

KATHERINE D. LOVELL
Bremerton, Wisconsin

A New Recruit to Free World

"I read FREE WORLD for the first time today. It is my opinion that it is a great magazine with a great future.

"I am a student at Stanford University, and I can see how your magazine, with proper circulation, could become a very important factor in the construction of a new world, for which we all anxiously long.

"More power to the FREE WORLD and to the men and women who contribute to its reading matter.

J. H. HASH
Palo Alto, California

Cooperation Not Pessimism

"You know how much I like and believe in FREE WORLD. One reason has been that you are so hopeful of UN, and even of world conditions, when others are downcast altogther.

"In your September issue, however, there are some articles mentioning a possible war with Russia—a war which would annihilate civilization. . . .

"Even *talk* with ideas of war with Russia, of course, makes Russia arm herself more heavily, and keep her people making armaments, instead of rebuilding and educating them.

"Russia doesn't want to fight, but she fears us. She outwits us in Germany—probably she would in another war. It's *fear* that rules today.

"We can kill peoples, and destroy property and food, but we *cannot kill ideas.*

"Education alone can bring all peoples to peace—that and a clear conscience."

IDA M. KEIGWIN
Colchester, Conn.

Trusteeship—UN or South African Variety

"I should like to congratulate you upon the inclusion of the item 'Atlantic Charter—South Africa' in your October 'State of the World.' This item really 'packs a punch.' This report on South Africa is very cogent in view of the problem of trusteeship which has come up before the UN very recently.

"As I recall it the Charter makes very definite provisions regarding trusteeship. As yet, very little seems to have been done regarding it. When the problem of West South Africa arose, Marshal Smuts declared that the Union of South Africa would annex it wily-nilly.

"If UN is to be a going concern, and carry out the purposes for which it was created, no provision of the Charter should be glossed over or ignored when it suits the convenience, or profit, of an individual member state. How can it function when the very states which gave it birth are ready to repudiate its tenets on the slightest provocation.

"The Trusteeship Council originally conceived to take care of the so-called backward nations should be activated as soon as possible. When problems arise regarding countries held in trust, or under mandate, the General Assembly and the Council should be the bodies to make the final decisions on their disposition.

"Let us all give the UN our complete support if it is to survive and carry out the functions for which it was created."

RACHELLE ORNSTEIN
New York City

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BOOKS

UNDERCOVER PLOTS REVEALED

by **DAVID S. MUZZEY**

THE PLOTTERS, by John Roy Carlson. E. P. Dutton and Company. New York. 1946. *Pp. xii,* 393. $3.50

This is a companion volume to Mr. Carlson's best seller *Under Cover*, published in 1943. The former book narrated, with a wealth of corroborative detail, the author's investigations, over a period of five years, of the subversive activities of Nazi and Japanese agents in this country. The present volume, with no less thoroughness of research, is devoted to the undercover plots of native Americans to undermine our democratic way of life by instilling the poison of fascist and communist doctrine into the minds of the American people. The book deals with the period since V-J Day, and its main emphasis is on the attempts of fascist groups, camouflaged in the red-white-and-blue of American "patriotism," to win the allegiance of the millions of returning veterans of the war. That many of these GI Joes were disillusioned on finding themselves without housing facilities and their country in a turmoil of industrial strife is true; but we may doubt that either their number or their discontent warrant Mr. Carlson in his opinion that they will be the dominant factor in determining the future of American democracy.

One is amazed at the versatility of Mr. Carlson in the adoption of roles enabling him to penetrate into the secret councils of the plotters, even to the ruse of posing for more than a year as "mother" Patricia O'Connell in order to worm himself into the confidence of the fascist and anti-Jewish Mothers of America and United Mothers of America, whose heroes were Gerald L. K. Smith, Father Coughlin and others of that stripe. Although Mr. Carlson exposes the rabble-rousing and hate-inspiring speeches and writings of both fascist and communist agitators, crying "a plague on both your houses," it is evident that he regards the former as the more dangerous of the two. Their persecution of the Negroes and Jews, their mendacious insistence that our government is under Jewish control, their persistent campaign to bore into the veterans' societies and recruit the returning GIs, their contemptuous insults to our public officials from Franklin Roosevelt (the " 'traitor' in the White House" who deliberately plunged us into war with Japan) and President Truman (the "piano player who was foisted on the American people by the Jew Sidney Hillman") to all the subordinate democratic "dupes"—all this is described at length, with numerous photographs of manifestos, letters, pamphlets and newspaper items, which must convince every fair-minded citizen of the alarming extent to which these emissaries of bigotry and persecution (the "hatriots" masquerading as patriots) are spreading their poison among the masses of disoriented and susceptible people in our country.

The author, who writes under the pen name of Carlson, is an Armenian whose parents brought him "as a child from war-ravaged south-eastern Europe in 1921" to make "a complete and happy adjustment as American citizens." Though shamefully vilified and even threatened with death for his exposure of treason in America in *Under Cover*, he has continued his battle for justice and sympathy for men and women of all creeds and races with a calm and courageous persistence. In *The Plotters* he avows his faith in "the American democratic capitalistic order, which, all factors considered, including its failures. I regard as the method which best provides the basic needs of most of its people." But to fulfill this mission capital must renounce wholly the irresponsible feudalistic power it exerted in the heyday of big business and heed the warnings of its far-sighted mentors like Wendell Willkie and Eric Johnston. Mr. Carlson will not sell America short. Though his experience in probing the activities of organized sabotage has given him ample reason to be cynical about American democracy, his faith in the soundness of our institutions remains unshaken. "Far from regarding the American system as the blind alley bogus patriots would have us believe it is," he concludes, "I regard it as our highway to a more abundant future."

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By Any Other Name

KAPUTT, by Curzio Malaparte. E. P. Dutton, New York. 407 *pages.* $3.75

This book deserves the critical invective that has been levelled at it. It is sycophant, callous, pretentious, and enough more to fill out one of the pertinent categories in Roget's "Thesaurus." Purporting to be a microscopic exposure of the physical and moral degradation of Europe, it is really revelatory of the author himself. The publishers say in an advertisement, "We believe that Malaparte's political morals have nothing to do with the greatness of *Kaputt.*" The book is far from great on any basis, But the publishers are wrong, precisely because the author's political morals are revealed in every one of the macabre stories he relates. When Malaparte gives the harrowing details of a St. Bartholomew massacre of thousands of defenseless Jews by Rumanian Iron Guardists, he is physically revolted by the savagery of it but not by its political and moral wickedness—he apparently is without qualms about the "political morality" of a Fascism which makes such things inevitable. Malaparte gives the impression of having been part of the facade of respectability which the Fascists attempted to erect —unsuccessfully, of course—so as to cover up the obscenity of their many affronts to human dignity. One can almost hear him saying, "Go to it, boys, you cannot make an omelet without breaking the eggs, but oh dear, *must* you be so gauche about it?"

Malaparte loudly proclaims his anti-fascism on every other page and is at great pains to show his intrepidity in having dared the wrath of his pals among the Himmlers and the Hans Franks, as when for example, he furtively handed a choice delicacy to a starving Jewish child in the course of an elegant visit to the Warsaw ghetto—methinks he doth protest too much. The fact is, according to informed sources, that he was "the darling of the Italian Diplomatic Corps in the '20's," and "the most coddled of the Italian war correspondents." He speaks with devastating irony about Mussolini, out of whose favor he apparently fell in an early stage of his diplomatic career, but limits his barbs to the various personality aberrations of Il Duce. If it is true, as alleged, that Malaparte for many years was under the protective wing of Ciano, he is indeed, ungracious in his back-stage anecdotes about that ill-starred young man. Here again, consistent with his "political morality," he says little about Ciano's very substantial contributions in bringing war and havoc to Italy and the rest of the world. The best tip-off on the depth of Malaparte's anti-fascism, is that his observations about his native Italy, consist almost entirely of a detailed and "analytical" account of the activities and proper significance of the Princess Colonni as the social and political collaborator of Ciano during the years that the latter lorded it over the various demi-mondes and political parasites of the Fascist hierarchy in Rome.

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A curious sidelight in the book, is the author's preoccupation with what I should call morbid animalism—clouds look like swollen lungs, lakes give off fetid breaths, the steel of a disabled tank is so much putrefying carrion, etc., etc. What the psychoanalysts would say about this I do not know —as for me, I found it downright grisly.

HARVEY J. BRESLER

The Subject Is Palestine

THIEVES IN THE NIGHT, by Arthur Koestler, Macmillan Company, New York. $2.75

Mr. Koestler writes so absorbingly and with such an intensity of feeling, that this book seems the real autobiography of an exceedingly exciting and busy life. It is more than a work of fiction. The subject is Palestine with its picture of complicated economics, methods of life, clash of interests and downright wrongs. There is much bitter humor and stark tragedy mingled with a factual presentation of his material that gives the story an engrossing interest.

The life of the colonists although simple is decent and hopeful in vivid contrast to the wretchedness of the Arab fellaheen. Throughout the book, Arab attacks occur at intervals, not by the people living near the colonists, but by marauding bands.

The troubles of the Arabs and the perplexities which vex them are fairly and frankly told.

The British officials have a hard time. They have to carry on their work directed from London, and at the same time deal with the people on the land. Koestler frankly states that the British prefer the Arabs because they are more easily managed and thus are better material out of which to fashion colonial people. The Jews ask too many questions. All through the book, however, he is extremely fair in his presentation of the difficulties under which the Government is trying to do its work.

Palestine was accepted by the Jews on conditions set forth in the Balfour Declaration, was underwritten by the United States and guaranteed by the League of Nations. The Mandate granted to Great Britain was for the express purpose of "facilitating the establishment of the Jewish National Home." The Jews accepted their responsibility and came in increasing numbers to Palestine. They bought land most of which was barren. The Jews suffered from malaria and other diseases prevalent in Palestine while draining the marshes, clearing the soil of stones and providing irrigation. At the same time they planted trees and vines and produced new types of cattle and poultry adapted to the climate of Palestine. Along with the labor of reconstruction and colonization, they went to work seriously to better the health of the country. The University established on Mount Scopos helped to build, equip and staff hospitals. Doctors were provided and clinics opened to Jews and Arabs alike so that by 1939 the health conditions were better in Palestine than in any other part of the Near or Middle East. The Arabs objected to these Jewish efforts, but at the

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same time availed themselves of the services offered.

In 1939 the British government issued the White Paper, which was a sell-out for the Jews in Palestine. By this Paper, only a limited number of additional Jews would be allowed to come into the land, and in 1944, the doors of Palestine were to be closed against any further immigration.

The Jews, however, went on with their work, hampered now by the feeling that they were not accepted in Palestine by right, but on sufferance. The creation of the underground and the beginning of violence is shown as a natural outgrowth of the bad relationship between the Jews and the British government and its antagonistic attitude in face of Arab opposition. Koestler does not attempt to justify violence but inevitably Joseph was driven into the camp of those who were willing to stake their lives and fight for their rights. Although it is not mentioned by the writer, a very close parallel can be drawn between what is happening in Palestine today and what happened in Boston and the other colonies before the American Revolution; what happened in Ireland over a long period of years; and what is happening at the present time in India and Egypt. People have been educated in all lands. They have been taught that under democracy it is the pledged word of the individual and the nation that makes stable government possible.

The problem in Palestine is more than a problem of nationalism, but it seems to me that Koestler is on sound ground when he says "the earth means something different to us than Croatia means to the Croats or America means to the Americans. They are married to their countries; we are searching for a lost bride. We are homesick for a Canaan which was never truly ours. That's why we are always foremost in the race for Utopia and Messianic revolutions, always chasing after a lost paradise. Defeated and bruised, we turn back toward the point from which the hunt started. It is the return from delirium to normality and its limitations. A country is the shadow which a nation throws, and for 2,000 years we were a nation without a shadow."

HENRY A. ATKINSON

The Gamut of Labor Law

LABOR AND THE LAW, by Charles O. Gregory. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York; 467 pages. $5

Professor Charles O. Gregory, in his book, "Labor and the Law," attempts to explore the whole gamut of labor law in the United States and suggests some proposals for legislative action to curtail what he believes to be some of labor's activities not in the public interest.

He demonstrates that early American labor law, like its British antecedents, fixes the abject status of working men shorn of their right to join unions under penalty of incarceration and, under certain circumstances, denied the right to change their jobs. The courts, the legislative bodies, and the employers joined forces to debase the status of working people to the point of depriving them of almost all rights.

Workers who banded together to remedy these desperate conditions and to promote their own well being, were continually struck down. This unequal battle, waged under the banner of a free and untrammeled economy, continued until the middle fifties of the nineteenth century when the right to join unions was freed from the taint of illegality. However, State legislatures and courts still continued to restrict the scope of such activities. In the 1880's the labor injunction, a new anti-union weapon more deadly than its predecessors, came into common usage. Many courts, abusing their authority, resorted to the injunction indiscriminately to choke off union organizational efforts.

The author shows that the labor movement continued to fight until it broke the back of the much-abused labor injunction through the instrumentality of the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932. Strengthened by this victory, a further spur to organizational activities was created by the enactment of the N.L.R.A., which safeguarded to employees the right to organize into unions of their own choice. With the advent of World War II, Government conducted collective bargaining under the auspices of the War Labor Board. Now, with the termination of hostilities, non-labor groups' demand for restrictive labor legislation has again become most insistent.

Professor Gregory presents the thesis that the power of unions has expanded to the point that the union has become a "monopolistic and anti-competitive institution wielding enormous economic power." He alleges that, to the public detriment, the U. S. Supreme Court has erroneously freed organized labor from the prohibitions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and incorrectly enlarged the area of union activity deemed to be within the law.

He points out inconsistencies under existing labor laws in certain cases. For example, some adverse decisions, in representation cases, under the N.L.R.A. can be flouted by unions without losing their immunity from injunctive process under the Norris-LaGuardia Act as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court.

To solve some of these problems, Professor Gregory offers a series of legislative proposals, of which some are his own and others are based on Thurman Arnold's unsuccessful legal battle under the anti-trust laws to eliminate certain so-called monopolistic practices engaged in by unions.

Professor Gregory, by conceding elsewhere that his program deals only with what he characterizes as secondary abuses, fails to appraise the total labor picture and to meet the problems that such an analysis requires.

The basic questions that remain unsolved are many. Professor Gregory might well have asked and answered the following:

Do unions arbitrarily engage in restrictive practices or are such actions attributable to an attempt to safeguard workers in their jobs?

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Are not these so-called abuses symptomatic of underlying economic dislocations which can only be solved by dealing with the basic causes and not merely with their superficial manifestations?

Will not many of these so-called abuses disappear if a decent living wage was guaranteed for all willing to work?

To the extent that Professor Gregory has presented a thorough historical analysis of labor law, his book will prove to be a useful document. The reader, however, must look elsewhere if he is searching for a solution for the basic problems in the field of labor relations.

MAX DELSON

Composite Portrait

FRONTIER ON THE POTOMAC, by Jonathan Daniels. Macmillan, N. Y., 1946. 252 pages with index. $2.75

Washington's frustrations begin with the fact that its location was artificial and its construction ditto. Created on a swamp for the express purpose of becoming a nation's capital, Washington has been more difficult to describe and characterize than other capitals because it had no life and importance of its own aside from being the "capital."

The principal business of Washington is by all odds the Federal Government. Hence writers concerning themselves with this monument to political compromises have, when not devoted to ponderous analyses of political action and motives, tried to enliven their portraits by using single individuals as symbols for groups. This holds true for the whole gamut from Dickens to LIFE Magazine's picture story a couple of years back. A derivative of this system is, of course, the spate of books, some amusing, some sensational, some neither, which have amplified this technique through the keyhole approach.

Jonathan Daniels out of the wealth of his editorial, and reportorial experience as well as that in bureaucracy uses a new brush to paint the portrait of Washington.

He goes on the assumption that behind government there are people, and that government is run by people, sometimes for the people. His collection of portraits—of the Cabinet, the Navy, the Congressional Library, the Civil Service Commission, etc.—tries to interpret Washington in terms of the people for whom government is run, as well as assessing the foibles and genius of the people who actually manipulate the million particles of responsibility which sum up to "government."

Daniels has done a wonderful job. His portrait composite is to me—as a long resident of Washington—especially satisfying and illuminating. If there is one word to describe his treatment, it is the word intelligent; with a sympathetic intelligence which brings you very near to seeing Washington as it should be seen. It's a book which it is a pleasure to recommend.

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War History of China

THUNDER OUT OF CHINA, by Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby. William Sloane, N. Y., 325 pages, $3.00

This is a war history of China. First the highlights of the Kuomintang-Communist struggles from 1924 to date and, secondly, the war with Japan. It is highly readable and packs an amazing quantity of essential factual data into its pages. Its reading drives home the unescapable, hazardous but challenging role America plays today vis-a-vis the Chinese factions and Soviet Russia in Asia.

Weakness of this book is found in certain deductions sometimes issued as facts. "Both sides lied, cheated and broke agreements; but the Communists had the people with them" it says of the Kuomintang and Communist Parties. It is insupportable to imply that the mass of Chinese are with the Reds. The authors make this subtly clear when they invariably refer to the Communists as "controlling" the people in their area, into which, of course, they marched with rifle and bayonet to create a Red region in the accepted manner of any Chinese warlord of old.

Likewise historical validity is lost by the continuous premises that the Kuomintang Government is rotten and inactive whereas the Communists are reasonably pure and dynamic. A double truth might better have been emphasized. Namely, that Kuomintang and Communists alike represent the Chinese of today in their respective characteristics, and that neither side can avoid blame for the bad nor credit for the good that is universally inherent in the Chinese race. Again stress could have been laid on the glaring but little understood fact that the Kuomintang claims but 3,000,000 members and the Communists only 2,000,000. This mind you, out of a total population of over 450,000,000. Instead of being an all-out struggle between only Kuomintang and Communists as this book implies, there is that overwhelming number of Chinese who love neither party nor their methods, and who would like to sample real democracy without either K.M.T. or Red brandings.

Potentialities of this sort do creep into one paragraph: "The great question of China is whether any democratic form of government can ease these tensions by wise laws, peacefully, before the peasant takes the law into his own hands and sets the countryside to flame."

Sketches of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his fellow governors are well salted with racy details, but are written in a non-sympathetic tone. Similar pages are devoted to General Stilwell, Ambassador Clarence Gauss, Ambassador Hurley, and other Americans involved in the disastrous days of 1944. However, the authors are openly of the Stilwell school and consequently Ambassador Hurley comes off a very poor second.

The chapters describing China's sick and poorly fed soldiers are excellent tribute to our alley. "That this army held the line against the Japanese for six years is the most remarkable thing of all. The army's greatest victory was its staying alive." And the authors debunk the American-believed yarn that the Communists did all the fighting against the Japanese. "During the significant campaigns it was the weary soldiers of the Central Government who took the shock, gnawed at the enemy, and died." Seventy per cent of Japanese effort was concentrated against them in 1944 as compared with the Red forces.

The authors do not hold with American support of the Nationalist government and charge that Asia regards us as the last bastion of reaction. This is a statement impossible of proof. Likewise untenable is the argument that our policy lacks push even after a full recital of General Marshall's efforts to find recognition for the Communists as an important party in the proposed coalition government.

The authors would have us negotiate the Chinese issue with Soviet Russia and the two major parties for an understanding that we do not intend to undercut the Soviets in China, failing which, America and Russia should agree to a "cordon of immunization" by all the world if civil war continues, and that both Russia and we will pull out completely.

Discounting debatable conclusions and a too rigidly fixed premise, this is a book of valuable historical background material.

JOHN GOETTE

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A Striking Indictment

TOUR OF DUTY, by John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 336 pages. $3

What most impressed John Dos Passos in his travels through the Pacific at the time we were reconquering the Philippines was the marvelous efficiency of American engineering. What was once a barely inhabitable island of litter and mosquitoes became almost overnight "the healthiest damned island in the Pacific." What was once a precariously moving fleet among widely dispersed islands became through the miracle of the American supply system —the floating base at Ulithi—an efficiently provisioned fleet. Everything accomplished in the Pacific was accomplished with apparent ease, and on a scale of hitherto unknown magnitude. In fact, things were not done in arithmetical but in geometrical proportions—the building of a baseball diamond or a shining new airfield. American technology could be proud of its successes in war.

When, however, Dos Passos went to Germany, after we had won the war, and saw the fumblings of the American occupation government, he could no longer be proud of American accomplishments. Here he saw what has become only too well known: the pathetic incompetency of a military government ruled without a clear-cut, over-all policy. Men with only high school training, after a two-hour lecture, were being given authority over places the size of Springfield, Illinois. The conflicting directives, redeployment, and the continuation of the "four separate Germanies," served only to addle already bewildered administrators more completely. It is not surprising that the author calls this brief section on Germany "in the year of our defeat." We were amazingly successful in war, but "what we are doing since the fighting stopped is wrong."

It is disappointing that the section on Germany which could have been the most constructive should have been so poorly handled. There is a jerkiness in the narrative, a hodge podge of quotations and interviews—and, what is most important, a dangerous tendency to attribute our failure in Germany to an "appeasement" of the Russians.

Dos Passos, in *Tour of Duty*, displays the same brilliant style, the same sympathy of characterization, and unrivaled ability to transfer to the printed page the sense, the smells, the sights of strange and familiar places that made his *U.S.A.* one of the most significant of American novels. His excellence as a reporter is remarkable.

Despite the brilliant writing, one comes away with the feeling that the description of the journey through the Pacific is just a traveler's notebook. In the report of the tour through Germany, however, regardless of his political irresponsibility, Dos Passos does have something more to say—he makes a striking indictment of a powerful nation's failure to exert its energies toward a real and unambiguous peace.

HARRIET ZINNES

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Recommended Books

THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW, by Frances Perkins, Viking Press, 396 pages with index, $3.75. Recounts in friendly fashion the innumerable contacts the author had with FDR since 1910. Is particularly interesting for those who feel the importance of the social program—particularly social security, relations with labor, wages and hours, etc.

NOT SO WILD A DREAM, by Eric Severeid, Alfred A. Knopf, 516 pages, $3.50. "It stands out among the many "brilliant books" by foreign correspondents—not only because it covers all the waterfronts of war-time journalism, but because it digs below the surface to discover the true causes of our discontents. It is a vivid and sometimes bewildering series of impressions in a bewildering time illumined by an intensely introspective mind."—*Cesar Saerchinger.*

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE, by I. F. Stone, Boni & Gaer, 240 pages, $2.50. This little volume, by the Washington editor of PM, was written as the result of an investigating voyage into a problem which is a pressing one to say the least. It recounts Mr. Stone's personal observations and

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adventures in the Holy Land, which he reached and entered on a boat manned by the group which is actively engaged in smuggling Jews into Palestine. It makes fascinating and instructive reading.

THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES, A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization, by Bilberto Freyre. Translated by Samuel Putnam, Alfred A. Knopf, 600 *pages,* $7.50. A veritable mine of facts about Brazil, written in a skillful and scholarly, as well as very readable style and translated in a masterly fashion. The book is absorbing, colorful and crammed full of facts and information. It is a must for everyone interested in the South American continent and Latin American life and affairs.

THE UNITED NATIONS: A Handbook on the New World Organization, by Louis Dolivet, with a preface by Trygve Lie, Farrar, Straus, 152 *pages,* $1.75. "It is the great merit of Dolivet's book, that it substitutes a real and working United Nations, with living personnel and actual tasks, for the experimental abstraction and that it reaffirms in specific and convincing language both the ideal and practical character of the enterprise. . . . It is because he attacks the whole question from that point of view—from the point of view of the United Nations in action—that Dolivet's book is so valuable. It will certainly be widely used. It is comprehensive, exact and readable. It answers questions in the order in which they are most likely to present themselves to the general reader."—*Archibald Macleish.*

WHERE ARE WE HEADING? by Sumner Welles, Harper & Bros., 390 *pages,* $3.50. The criticism by a career diplomat of the attitude of all the big powers. Mr. Welles is particularly critical of the conduct of what he terms "so-called" diplomats, who are without experience, skill or understanding. He makes a plea for cooperation among nations, particularly between the United States and Russia, and states that it is still not too late if we are to avoid the heartbreak which goes with large scale disagreements.

Our Book Reviewers

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State of New York } ss. for October 1st, 1946.
County of New York }

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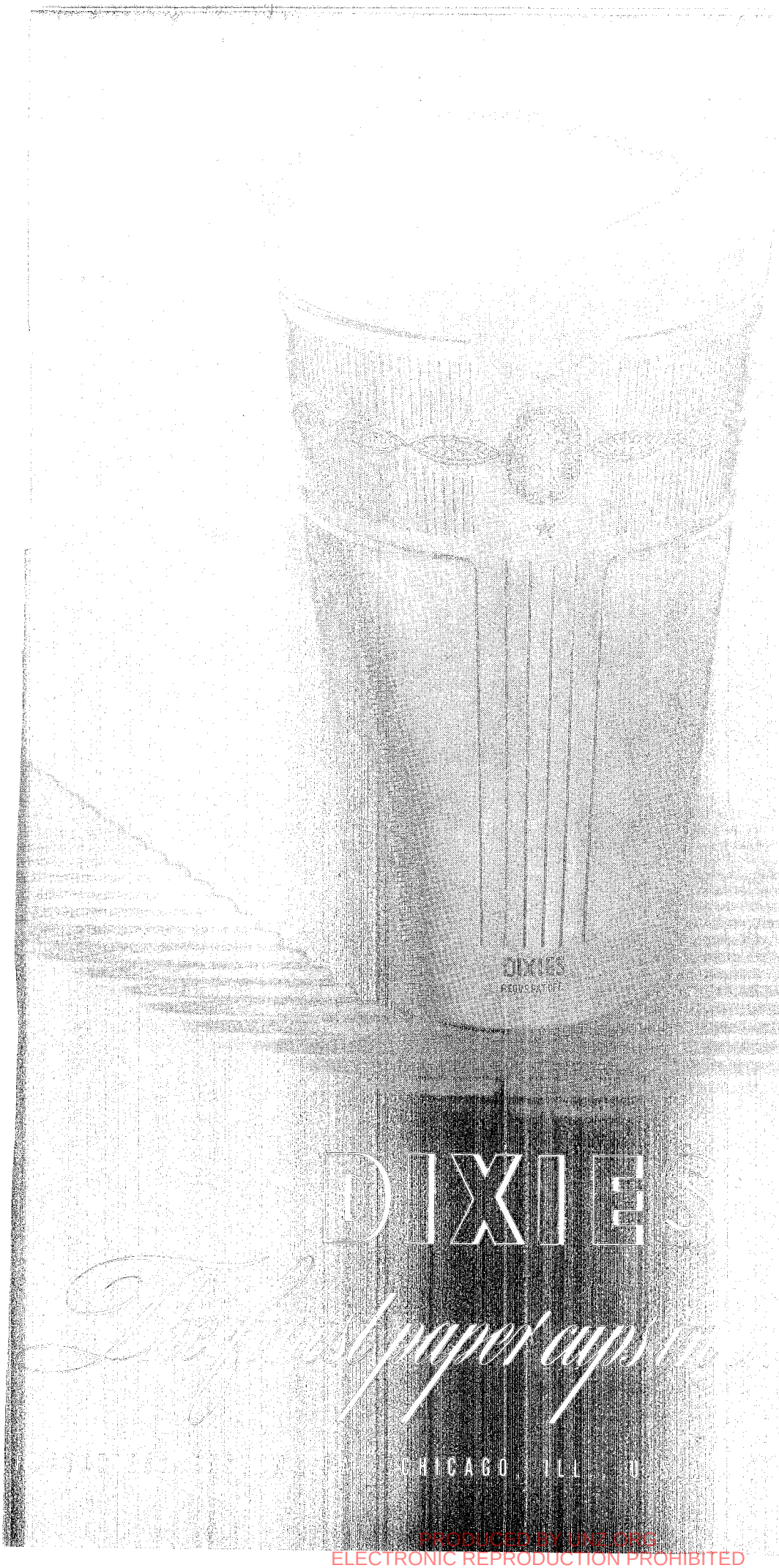

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